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POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

No. 1424

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6 July 1983

USSR REPORT
POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

No. 1424

SELECTIONS FROM SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY JOURNALS

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Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 12, Dec 82 p 1

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SUMMARIES OF MAJOR ARTICLES IN ENGLISH

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 12, Dec 82 pp 2-6 (Insert)

[English Summaries of Major Articles]

[Text] The issue has a supplement containing official documents in memory of Leonid Brezhnev; a report on the extraordinary CPSU Central Committee Plenum and on the election of Comrade Y. V. Andropov as General Secretary of the CPSU, together with Y. V. Andropov's short biography.

The last issue of the year begins with the traditional section 60 YEARS OF THE FORMATION OF THE USSR, the first article in which, "The Unbreakable Union of Free-Born Republics," is written by T. Usualiyev, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kirghizia. "There are thousands of peoples, hundreds of states on our planet, belonging either to the socialist or capitalist system," the author writes. "Only under socialism, however, have various peoples managed to overcome enmity between nations, and unite their efforts in the struggle for a new, just way of life."

Taking Kirghizia as an example, T. Usualiyev tells about the grandiose leap forward which the peoples of the former outlying districts of the tsarist Russia have made in their economic, social and cultural development. Suffice it to say that Soviet Kirghizia produces, in one day, the same amount of industrial goods as it did during the entire year 1913. "These achievements," T. Usualiyev stresses, "are the result of selfless assistance rendered by other peoples of our country, primarily the great Russian people."

The author makes an emphasis on the fact that the formation of the USSR is of great international importance. The Soviet experience of establishing a multi-national socialist state is a source of inspiration for all the peoples who today have been waging a struggle for their national independence, against colonialism and neocolonialism, for the right to dispose of their own destiny.

A set of interviews given by prominent statesmen and public figures of Asia and Africa can serve as a confirmation of sorts to the conclusion arrived at by T. Usualiyev in his article.

Y. Dadoo, National Chairman of South Africa Communist Party, said:

"For us, the Communists of South Africa, the theory, practice and experience of the USSR is of tremendous importance for the solution of our national questions." The interview is followed by others, given by Y. Tsedenbal, General Secretary of the CC of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, Chairman of the Presidium of the Great People's Hural; B. Shadli, President of the Algerian People's Democratic Republic, Indian Prime Minister, I Gandhi and other statesmen and public figures.

The next article, "The Only Correct Treatment of the Interests of Nations," is written by Doctor of History A. Heifets. Using concrete facts from the history of the Soviet state, the author shows that a new social system brings forth quite different international relations, free from discrimination, domination and subordination, typical of the capitalist world. At the dawn of its existence, Soviet Russia demonstrated to the world that the principles of self-determination, on the basis of which the multinational state was built, have to become the fundamental principles underlying international relations. For the first time ever, a basically new tenet--on the recognition of the national liberation movements of the oppressed peoples as just and lawful--has been introduced both in the international law and practice of intergovernment relations. "The experience of Leninist eastern policy," the author writes, "testifies irrefutably to the fact that the formation and development of the USSR is of unfading significance, that it marks an important historic gain of the centuries' old struggle waged by progressive humanity for equality and friendship of the peoples, for the revolutionary renovation of the world."

The same section carries the material written by Academician Y. Primakov and Candidate of History A. Baziyants, on the progress of Soviet Oriental studies.

Following the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the authors contend, besides being a science dealing with the East, the Oriental studies became an effective force in the political and cultural renovation of the peoples of the socialist community, in the socialist construction; it became a force actively promoting the successes of the national liberation movements of the oppressed peoples in the colonial East. The article makes a special emphasis on the idea that Soviet Orientalists deem it their scholarly duty to promote friendship between the peoples of Asia and the world, to help them in their struggle against racial, national, religious or any other kind of hatred, discrimination or exclusiveness.

The article by G. Smirnov, A. Tryasunov, "The States of African Studies in the USSR," concludes the section. The author explains that prior to the emergence of the Soviet state in Russia, African studies did not exist as an independent science. The first years following the proclamation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics may be considered the time of its birth. The author dwells on the establishment of Soviet African studies and its development; he traces the main trends in the work of Soviet African scholars and gives a concise analysis of the most fundamental books. The article also treats of the ties between Soviet African scholars, their colleagues in other countries and the African continent as well.

A. Alexeyev's story, "Terrible Days of the Lebanon" may be described as the tragedy of this country as witnessed by a Palestinian. The hero of the story

has spent all his conscious years fighting for the right cause of the Arab people of Palestine. A guerilla fighter at 14, he was a volunteer of the Syrian Army waging a war against Israel at 24, then, since 25, a professional revolutionary. Such is a short biography of Talal Naji, Member of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization. "I want to meet my friends under the roof of my own house, I want my kids to finish school in my native parts. And I want them never again to go through such terrible days as they have recently gone through in West Beirut," was Talal's answer to our question about the main goal of his life.

Three years have elapsed since the Republic of Zimbabwe, the youngest sovereign state in the South of Africa--or rather on the whole continent--have appeared on the territory of former Rhodesia. The article by V. Vladimirov, "A New History of the Young Republic," describes the achievements, difficulties, and every-day cares of the common working people of the country.

The young republic has quite a few enemies anxious to impede its progress on the road toward new achievements. The Pretoria regime regards the independent Zimbabwe as a direct threat to its colonial policy in the South African region and makes every effort to turn Zimbabwe off the road it has opted for, to undermine the positions of the R. Mugabe government. Fortunately, the republic has many friends, the Soviet Union and other socialist community countries among them. It is their friendship and cooperation that gives strength and inspiration to the people of Zimbabwe, helps them in their work of building a new life.

The article by M. Zeinalov is dedicated to the All-Arab People's Congress and its role in the sociopolitical life of the Arab countries. Over the 5 years of its existence, the author writes, the APC has amassed the most valuable experience of coordinated actions to defend national sovereignty and security of its member countries. Raising its voice to defend the vital interests and national rights of the Palestinian and other peoples from the encroachments of Israeli aggressors and their patrons, holding firm anti-imperialist positions on the key international issues, this organization has won prestige and respect for itself, extending far beyond the Arab world.

The PROBLEMS AND OPINIONS section opens with the article entitled "East and West: Economic Contacts Reflecting Different Rates of Development." The author, Candidate of Economics A. Petrov, is considering the phenomenon of different rates of development, doing so through the prism of economic contacts between East and West over the recent centuries. It is very hard, so far, to carry out a concrete comparative analysis, the author writes, of the economic past of the two macro-civilizations, taking all the aspects of economic life into account, as a great amount of data is non-existent. The only task that can be really solved today is research into phenomena that emerged as a result of the direct economic contacts, first of all commercial ones. The author thinks that commercial contacts can serve as a synthesized index and reflection, albeit indirect, of the processes that took place separately, as part of internal life of every region.

The issue carries the second article by Candidate of History Y. Rashkovsky, "Traditions and Contemporaneity in the Works by Indian Sociologists (1970's-1980's)." Analyzing the works by a number of Indian sociologists, the author

throws light on the role of castes in modern India. To assert, Y. Rashkovsky writes that the factor of castes played a negative--and only negative--role in the life of the Indian society, would mean to distort a historic truth. This phenomenon was undoubtedly positive at some stages and in certain spheres of the life of the Indian society. Today, however, it becomes a sort of obstacle in its development.

The section TRAVELS AND MEETINGS is filled in this issue with G. Frolova's article, "Gabon, Voices of the Ancestors," and V. Mishin's "Iraq. Visiting the Yezidis."

Candidate of History L. Golden gives a short review of the present-day situation of the African cinema. L. Golden acquaints the reader with motion pictures by young but well-known directors such as Rui Guerro (Mozambique), Mahmoud Dreze (Libya), Suheilya ben Barki (Morocco) and others.

"The Glorious Son of India," written by two Candidates of Philology, L. Bychikhina and V. Furnika, deals with Subramanja Baradi, a poet romanticist and founder of modern Tamil literature, whose centenary is marked in December this year. Back at the dawn of the current century S. Baradi predicted that the Russian people would make up a vanguard of struggle to liquidate despotic rule. "Let Shiva the God give his vast blessing to the courageous efforts of our Russian comrades fighting to eliminate despotism," wrote the great son of India.

An eventful destiny of the first Russian Indologist, Gherasim Lebedev, is the topic of the essay written by Indian publicist Prabir Nag Choudhuri, carried by the section PAGES OF HISTORY.

TRADITIONS AND MORES materials include A. Shmelyov's description of the Japanese calendar, which will help the reader to find his bearings in the complex chronology of the Moon Calendar, so widely used all over the world.

As usual, the journal publishes reviews of books by Soviet and foreign authors on the urgent matters of the developing countries. Extensive data is given in the EVENTS, FACTS, FIGURES section.

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DEVELOPMENT OF SOVIET ORIENTAL STUDIES SURVEYED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 12, Dec 82 pp 14-18

[Article by Academician Ye. Primakov and Candidate of Historical Sciences A. Baziyants: "The Formation of the USSR and Soviet Orientalist Science"]

[Text] The history of Soviet and world oriental studies is divided into two stages. The first is prior to the Great October Socialist Revolution and the second is since October 1917, when on a state scale there has been a fundamental change in the approach to the problems of the national liberation struggle of the Eastern peoples, to their historic destinies, to the state, economic and political interests of the Asian and African countries and peoples, to their cultural, scientific and literary heritage and to their contribution to world civilization.

While the former periods in the development of Russian and Western European oriental studies were close in terms of the time of their origin, in terms of methodological principles and in terms of content, starting with the Great October Socialist Revolution their courses diametrically diverged, differing fundamentally in the theoretical base and practical goals. Here it is essential to point out that the methodological bases for a new, socialist orientalist science were set down long before the October Revolution and were defined by the works of K. Marx, F. Engels and V. I. Lenin on the nationality and nationality-colonial questions, the problems of the national liberation movement as well as the place and role of the national liberation movement in the proletarian revolutions. In Lenin's heritage of extremely important significance are his works on the attitude toward the cultural past of countries and peoples, to the national culture of class societies and to the achievements of science.

In speaking about the fundamental divergence of paths in the development of Soviet and Western oriental studies, we in no way are denying the presence in the latter of two currents, the bourgeois and Marxist-Leninist. The October Revolution provided a new impetus to the development of social sciences in the West, including oriental studies, having reinforced the theoretical base of its Marxist-Leninist school and having enriched this school with examples from the national rebirth of the peoples of the Soviet East and by works of Soviet researchers on the problems of the Asian and African nations. But the bourgeois school has remained the dominant one in oriental studies in the capitalist West

and this has been supported by the entire might of the state apparatus and subsidized by the monopolies.

The development of Soviet orientalist science at the present stage has been determined by Marxist-Leninist methodology and by the fundamental unity of the state and scientific approach to the underlying problems of the struggle for peace, for good-neighbor relations between states with different social systems, against class, political, racial, national and religious suppression, for equality and equal rights of all peoples and a considerate attitude toward the scientific and cultural heritage as well as the particular features in the development of all peoples, large and small.

After the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, oriental studies in the USSR became not only a science concerned with the study of the East, but also an effective force in the political and cultural rebirth of our country's peoples and in socialist construction; it became a force actively contributing to the success of the national liberation movement among the suppressed peoples of the colonial East, to the carrying out of Lenin's nationality policy and to the fulfillment of the tasks confronting Soviet diplomacy. The latter circumstance necessitated the training of diplomatic personnel, workers for Soviet embassies and missions in the Eastern countries. During the first years of Soviet power, the carrying out of this important task was closely linked not only to the problem of instruction, but also to the entire range of questions determining the educational process (curriculums, syllabuses, teaching aids and so forth).

Thus, the rise of oriental studies in our nation as a whole was not only historically determined, but was also practically, it can be said, vitally necessary both for the sake of carrying out foreign policy and trade-economic ties as well as in the aims of educating broad masses of the population and raising public education and culture. With the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, when science was turned into a concern of the entire state and a question of constant consideration for the party and the people, the greatest possible attention began to be paid to oriental studies.

In the prerevolutionary period, orientalist science was not clearly divided into separate disciplines. Oriental studies were basically restricted to investigations of a historical-philological and textological nature. The certain universalism of the research carried out by the old school orientalists, with all its accomplishments, under the new, more complex conditions, when science was confronted with the task of studying the economy, recent and modern history, the class struggle, the national liberation movement, politics and so forth, turned out to be not always a scientifically sound method. The individual scholar who actually represented himself had to be replaced by a collective of specialists with a long-range research plan.

Upon the initiative of V. I. Lenin, in the orientalist institutes a fundamentally new, socioeconomic cycle of sciences was introduced and this emphasized the need for studying the class structure and the balance of class forces as well as the nature and prospects of the national liberation movement in the East.

Simultaneously, under the difficult conditions of the Civil War and economic chaos, a lack of funds and material resources, the government did everything possible to preserve and broaden the already-existing capital orientalist centers and set up new ones in the republics of the Soviet East. V. I. Lenin warned of the need to show the greatest possible circumspection and care in reorganizing the Academy of Sciences as well as tact and attention for the scientists. The Asian Museum was significantly augmented in personnel and a decision was taken to provide it with new quarters and funds were provided for the publishing of works and for acquiring orientalist literature in the European nations.

Along with this, the organization of education and science as a whole for the nation underwent a fundamental reshaping. From the very first days of the October Revolution, a new system of public education and scientific research began to be formed. Let us recall that prior to 1917, there was not a single institution of higher learning either in Transcaucasia or Central Asia.

During this period training was commenced for specialists in scientific disciplines which were previously not represented in the Academy of Sciences and the organizational forms of scientific research were altered. The times and the increased tasks of science required a study of not only particular facts, phenomena or individual literary monuments, but rather a systematic, thorough investigation of the sociohistorical, political and cultural development of the Eastern peoples.

To the honor of the predominant majority of the orientalists at the Asian Museum, the Eastern Faculty of Petrograd University and the Moscow Lazarev Institute of Eastern Languages--and among them were such prominent scholars as Academician N. Ya. Marr, Academician and then Permanent Secretary of the Academy of Sciences and Director of the Asian Museum S. F. Ol'denburg, Academician V. V. Bartol'd, Academician P. K. Kokovtsov, Honored Academician A. N. Veselovskiy, Corresponding Member F. I. Shcherbatskoy as well as B. Ya. Vladimirtsov, A. Ye. Krymskiy and I. A. Orbeli--they unconditionally accepted Soviet power and endeavored to devote their knowledge and energies to the people.

In particular, the People's Commissar of Education A. V. Lunacharskiy pointed out the "strong support" from the Academy of Sciences "in introducing literacy in the mother tongue for the nationalities not having their own written language or having a nascent written language."¹ In the 1920's, the stage was completed of changing writing from the Arabic script which is not proper for the Turkic and Iranian languages into Latin and this important undertaking was carried out with the greatest possible participation of the orientalists. Great were the contributions by the orientalist scholars of Petrograd and Moscow to the development of oriental studies and to the organizing of the higher schools in Central Asia and Azerbaijan. In a short period of time they prepared and published textbooks, readers and dictionaries for many Eastern languages and literatures. N. Ya. Marr, V. V. Bartol'd and A. N. Samoylovich

¹ A. V. Lunacharskiy, "Vospominaniya i vpechatleniya" [Remembrances and Impressions], Moscow, 1968, p 206.

traveled abroad, in particular to Turkey, for giving lectures and scientific consultation. It would not be an error to say that all the leading orientalists of Petrograd and Moscow took a direct and most active part in the work of the World Literature Publishing House organized by Maxim Gorky. They were involved in the translating of the literary monuments of the Eastern peoples, their editing and the writing of scholarly commentaries.

With the formation of the USSR, the All-Russian Scientific Association of Orientalists which had been organized in December 1921 became the All-Union one. Its printed organ, the journal NOVYY VOSTOK (the first issue came out in 1922) aided a great deal in the popularizing of orientalist knowledge.

In the 1920's, which were crucial years for Soviet science, the organizational principles of the orientalist VUZes, their structure, training-pedagogical program and scientific subjects were outlined.

During the year of the formation of the USSR, in Baku the Eastern Faculty of the Azerbaijan State University was founded with two departments, historical and linguistic. Here they began to study the history, economy, philosophy, language and literature of the Near and Middle Eastern peoples. Here courses were given by prominent scholars such as V. V. Bartol'd, N. Ya. Marr, A. N. Samoylovich, I. N. Ashmarin, A. S. Gubaydulin and B. V. Choban-zade. From the very first years of its founding, the Eastern Faculty became a center for training personnel for scientific research.

With great help from Moscow and Petrograd scholars, in 1918, the Turkestan Eastern Institute was established in Tashkent, and its mission was the "scientific study of Turkestan, its history, way of life, culture and languages of the indigenous population in Turkestan and neighboring nations which in cultural terms were most closely linked to it."² Later, in 1924, the Turkestan Eastern Institute was merged with the Central Asian State University and here they began operating an eastern faculty with ethnological-linguistic and pedagogical divisions.

From the 1920's, largely by the efforts of Academician I. A. Dzhavakhishvili, Eastern studies began to develop intensely in Soviet Georgia.

In 1923, they began teaching orientalist disciplines at the Yerevan State University. Somewhat earlier, on 5 February 1921, the Historical-Cultural Institute was founded by a decree of the Armenian Revolutionary Committee in Echmiadzin under the Matenadaran and museum.

In 1930, the orientalist forces of the Academy of Sciences were merged into one institution, the Institute for Eastern Studies. The planning of scientific work was introduced and provision was made for the study of modern and recent history, the national liberation movement and the economic problems of the Eastern nations. The institute's co-workers achieved great success in studying

² B. V. Luchin, "Vostochnyy fakul'tet" [The Eastern Faculty], Tashkent, 1981, p 5.

the sources on the history of the peoples of Central Asia (materials on the history of the Turkmen and Turkmenia and the Karakalpaks), cultural monuments, the life and creativity of prominent thinkers and poets of the medieval East, along with the historical and cultural works.

In the 1930's, a collective of Leningrad orientalists carried out a number of significant research projects. Among them was the work on Tangut philosophy by N. A. Nevskiy. Also well known in our nation and abroad were the works by V. M. Alekseyev, A. P. Barannikov, V. V. Bartol'd, Ye. E. Bertel's, P. K. Kokovtsov, I. Yu. Krachkovskiy, I. A. Orbeli, N. V. Pigulevskaya, A. N. Samoilovich and V. V. Struve. During these years, along with the historical research, dictionaries and textbooks and grammars for a number of the Eastern languages were prepared. The orientalists from the Academy of Sciences took a most active part in the work of creating alphabets for the Soviet peoples who previously did not have their own written languages. A great contribution was made by Leningrad scholars to the training of orientalists in our nations, particularly textologists and specialists in the little-studied and dead languages.

War broke out. The ranks of the Leningrad orientalists were thinned out. The remaining ones focused their efforts on preserving the unique holdings, manuscripts, books, libraries and archives of comrades who perished in the besieged city. A group of Leningrad scholars headed by Academician V. V. Struve, in being evacuated to Tashkent, together with local colleagues carried out fruitful work on the cultural history of the Central Asian peoples and in describing manuscripts.

The unstinting labor by our nation's scholars during the years of the Great Patriotic War was highly regarded by the Soviet people and awarded government decorations. Among those who received orders and medals was a group of co-workers from the Institute for Eastern Studies.

As for the development of orientalist science in the Soviet republics of the East in the period from the 1930's to the end of the 1950's, this made a significant contribution to studying the problems of ethnogenesis, the national history of the culture, languages, literatures, epigraphy and the literary monuments of our nation's peoples. During these years, the study of the non-Soviet East in the republics had not yet become a special scientific study. This occurred later, at the end of the 1950's, when the new situation arising after the defeat of German Nazism and Japanese militarism in World War II, the rise of the national liberation movement in the Eastern nations and the founding of sovereign national states on the ruins of the colonial empires confronted the orientalists with new tasks. The question arose of reorganizing the entire system of scientific work in the nation, fundamentally altering the subjects and creating new scientific areas and sectors.

In 1950, the Institute for Eastern Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences was moved to Moscow and a division of it was left in Leningrad. The moving of the institute to the capital was to assist in the more successful work of the orientalist center in the nation on the problems of modern and recent history, examining the nature and particular features of the national liberation movement and the political and socioeconomic development of the Eastern nations. Provision was also made for more active utilization of the scientific center in

the interests of carrying out a Leninist foreign policy and for the successful activities of Soviet diplomacy. Here the aim was not merely to bring together under one roof people from different orientalist specialties, but rather to integrate the work of specialists from various areas of knowledge such as historians, sociologists, economists, philologists and others into a single research process.

Today's East is a most complicated organism the development of which is determined both by the specific reproduction process and by the patterns of the world economic and international political ties, by the dialectical interaction of traditions and the modern world and by the unique revolutionary situation and the driving forces of the revolution. At the same time, over the entire history of the East there has obviously never been a period comparable to the one which arose after the former colonies and dependent nations won their political independence in terms of the speed, scope and profundity of the occurring socioeconomic and sociopolitical changes.

The progressive group of Afro-Asian nations set out on the path of socialism or chose a socialist orientation. Other liberated nations which have continued to follow the capitalist path have become evermore differentiated in terms of the development level, the degree of preserving feudal vestiges and the stage of forming new classes and social strata.

The profound and clear differentiation has obviously become one of the main features in the former colonial world. This became particularly intense in the 1970's. Here the heterogeneity of the post-colonial East has become apparent in the difference not only of the chosen development path or the achieved degree of development, but also in terms of the political line of the liberated nations, either independent or pro-imperialist. An accent was put on the diverse nature of the heterogeneity in the Accountability Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th CPSU Congress which provided a Marxist analysis of the international situation at the start of the 1980's. On the question of the liberated nations, the Accountability Report stated that they "are very different. Some of them after liberation have followed a revolutionary-democratic path while capitalist relations were established in others. Certain of them are carrying out a truly independent policy while others are now moving in the same direction as imperialist policy. In a word, the picture is rather mixed."

Prerevolutionary Eastern studies, due to methodological limitations, were deprived primarily of an opportunity to foresee the course of historical development. The task of modern science is to be able to determine the basic directions for the development of the post-colonial East by a careful, profound, thorough and comprehensive study of all aspects in the social and political life of the nation, the region and international relations.

The co-workers from the Institute of World Economy and International Relations, the Africa Institute and the Institute for the International Workers Movement are making a major contribution to studying the socioeconomic, political processes occurring in the developing nations, the patterns and prospects of their development, the history of the international workers movement and its nature and development trends.

The Far East Institute is engaged in research on the urgent problems of the vast region in the East of Asia.

The reorganization and definite reorientation on studying modern problems in no instance mean a neglect of the traditional area of orientalist disciplines, that is, the so-called classic Eastern studies. It is perfectly clear that a study of the literary monuments of the Ancient East and medieval studies, in other words, the entire range of disciplines of classic Eastern studies, is developing independently. But also apparent is the fact that the traditional range of subjects cannot develop without performing functional tasks related to research on the modern times. Here the second function of the traditional group which is of applied significance is becoming evermore complicated and its importance is growing. This is occurring because of objective factors since there is a greater awareness that without an assessment of the impact of the traditional ways of life it is impossible to properly investigate the present-day processes in the East.

Research on the historic events of the past and particularly the recent decades in the development of the Eastern nations has required a profound, all-round, comprehensive scientific approach. At present, our nation has established a broad network of orientalist scientific and scholarly institutions, faculties, chairs and divisions, and three specialized journals are published including NARODY AZII I AFRIKI, AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA and SOVETSKAYA TYURKOLOGIYA. The numerical indicators show the popularity of orientalist literature. The Main Editorial Offices of Eastern Literature under the Nauka Publishing House alone over the 25 years of its existence, from 1957 through 1981, published 11,756 titles of books and pamphlets, that is, approximately 470 titles a year. The total run of all publications, calculating them in printer's sheets, is 675,110,000.

Let us mention several fundamental publications of recent years. The collective three-volume monograph "Zarubezhnyy Vostok i sovremennost'" [The Non-Soviet East and Modern Times] is the result of many years' research on the specific nature and development trends of the Eastern nations. It examines questions concerning the present-day situation in the Eastern countries such as: what are the trends in the industrial production of these states, how is the problem of employing the population being solved, what have the people been given from the agrarian reforms carried out there, what is the role of religion in the social life of these nations, what successes have been achieved by the peoples of the East in the cultural area, and so forth.

A whole series of works devoted to research on the urgent problems of the developing nations has been prepared and published by co-workers from the Institute of World Economy and International Relations. Its authors have thoroughly analyzed the socioeconomic processes occurring in the developing nation and have described the role of these countries in the world economy, the trends and prospects of their development.

The collection "Revolyutsionnyy protsess na Vostoke: istoriya i sovremenost'" [The Revolutionary Process in the East: History and Modern Times] is devoted to studying the specific development conditions of the national liberation and revolutionary movement in the Eastern nations.

The students of V. V. Struve, one of the founders of the Soviet school of research on the Ancient East, are continuing to study the problems of the rise of a class society and the particular features in the development and change of precapitalist formations in the East.

Extensive research is also being carried out in the traditional areas of Soviet Eastern studies, in particular, in textology. Particularly extensive on this level is the work being carried out by co-workers from the Leningrad Division of the Institute for Eastern Studies in deciphering and describing ancient Eastern manuscripts, translating them into Russian and publishing them with the corresponding scholarly commentary. These are of undoubted general cultural and scholarly significance as without a study and publication of the literary monuments, the creation of major works on the philology, culture and history of the Eastern peoples would be inconceivable. In recent years, in particular, we have published a facsimile edition of an unique manuscript by the 16th Century Kurdish historian Shirafkhan Bidlisi entitled "Sharaf-name" as well as selected chapters from the treatise by the medieval Arab philosopher Abu Hamid al-Ghazali "The Revival of Sciences on Belief." Work is continuing on studying the ancient Indian epic "Mahabharaty" and the Turkic runic texts. Leningrad linguists have made a great contribution to studying the languages of the Eastern peoples, to the typology of the Indo-Aryan languages, to the history of linguistic schools and to investigating the language of the Ancient Iranian religious monument "Avesta."

The results of the linguistic research by Soviet orientalists have been published in the series "Yazyki narodov Azii i Afriki" [Languages of Asian and African Peoples] which now numbers more than 150 books in Russian and English. The primacy of the Russian school of Eastern linguistics is well known and for this reason it is not surprising that foreign publishing houses have shown a great interest in this series.

Year after year, the ties are broadening between Soviet orientalist scholars and scientific organizations and specialists throughout the world. Joint research is being carried out and seminars and conferences are being organized. In particular, in the summer of this year in Moscow, a scientific-political conference was successfully held on "Urgent Problems of Modern Africa." Participating in its work were more than 50 prominent scientists, social and political leaders from 20 Asian nations. Particularly close ties have been established with the orientalists from the socialist countries.

The public has perceived as a manifestation of great attention and concern on the part of the Soviet government for the development of Soviet Eastern studies and as recognition of the achievements of Soviet science the awarding of the Order of the Labor Red Banner on 22 July 1980 to the Institute for Eastern Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences which is the leading scientific research center in the nation in the area of studying the history, economy, politics, sociology, culture, literature and languages in the nations of the non-Soviet Asia, North Africa and the Pacific Region. Prestigious scientific centers have emerged in Tashkent with the Institute for Eastern Studies imeni Biruni and the large collection of manuscripts in many languages of the Eastern peoples; Tbilisi with the Institute for Eastern Studies imeni G. V. Tsereteli, where semitology and Byzantine studies have developed particularly successfully;

Baku with its Institute for the Peoples of the Near and Middle East, the Literature Institute imeni Nizami and the Manuscript Archives of the Azerbaijan Academy of Sciences; Dushanbe with the Institute for Eastern Studies where unique Iranian-language manuscripts are being studied by young, very promising scholars; Yerevan with its Institute for Eastern Studies and the famous Matenadaran.

Extensive scientific research is being conducted at the Institute for Asian and African countries under Moscow State University, on the Eastern Faculty of Leningrad University where corresponding members of the USSR Academy of Sciences M. N. Bogolyubov and D. A. Ol'denrogge are working, as well as in the Azerbaijan, Vladivostok, Yerevan, Tajik, Tbilisi and Uzbek Universities.

Soviet orientalists consider it their scholarly duty to assist the Leninist policy being carried out by the Soviet state of peace and friendship among peoples of Asia and the entire world and in the struggle against racial, national, religious and any other forms of intolerance, discrimination and exclusiveness.

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DEVELOPMENT OF SOVIET AFRICAN STUDIES SURVEYED

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[Article by Doctor of Economic Sciences G. Smirnov and A. Tryasunov: "Turning Points in Soviet African Studies"]

[Text] There is certainly nothing contradictory or artificial in bringing together the 60th anniversary of the formation of the USSR and the development of Soviet African studies. The very term "African studies" can be found mentioned for the first time in our scientific literature just 18 months after the proclamation of the USSR.¹ It was precisely then within the bosom of Soviet Eastern studies that there began to arise a special area of interdisciplinary research devoted to the Black Continent.

Certainly Soviet African studies did not arise in a vacuum. Characteristic of the progressive circles in prerevolutionary Russia was a vital and sympathetic interest in Africa. Radishchev, Pushkin--a direct descendant of the Ethiopian Abram (Ibrahim) Hannibal or the "blackamoor of Peter the Great"--Herzen and Chernyshevskiy protested against the colonial enslavement of the African peoples. The great Lenin in his "Notebooks on Imperialism" and in other works employed--with his murderously apt commentaries and judgments--the actual data and most indicative "confessions" from what bourgeois scholars and journalists had written about Africa.²

Direct Russian-African ties go back at least 4½ centuries and at the sources of these, along with the nameless pilgrims to the holy sites of Egypt, stands who else but Afanasiy Nikitin [a 15th Century traveler]: "I was 5 days in that Ethopian land, and I am grateful to God that evil did not befall me, and I gave out much rice, pepper and bread to the Ethopians and they did not plunder the other ships."³ Since that time to the start of the 20th Century, hundreds, if not thousands, of Russians visited Africa. In our nation, certain languages of the continent were studied including Geez, Amharic and Coptic, not to mention Arabic. The works of Academicians B. A. Turayev and I. Yu. Krachkovskiy in the area of Egyptian and Ethopian studies have become world famous.

But yet, in Russia there was no independent "science about Africa." The authors of the reports, comments and diaries about trips to Africa were, with rare exception, diplomats, navigators, traders and not professional researchers and virtually all were forced to limit the range of their professional and

scholarly interests to the Arabic nations of the continent (which by tradition are even now actually part of the "competence" of orientalist studies) and Ethiopia.⁴ Under the conditions where Tropical Africa which we will be predominantly concerned with in the future, was closed off by the colonialists, Russian African studies, deprived of its material base, naturally could not develop widely.

The turning point occurred after Great October which opened up a new era in world history and caused a rise in the liberation movement also on the African continent. In 1921, the South African Communist Party was formed and V. I. Lenin met and spoke with its representatives in the Comintern. A little later, communist sections were also organized in the Magreb countries. African students also appeared in the famous Moscow Communist University of Workers of the East (KUTV). In 1928, an African chair was organized at the KUTV and an African Office within the Scientific Research Association for Studying National and Colonial Problems (NIANKP) which functioned as part of the chair. Both the university and the association were closely tied to the Comintern and the Profintern [Trade Union International], and consequently, with the practical tasks of the international revolutionary movement.

The history of science is the history of the people who made it. The pioneers of African studies in the USSR were very young people who had not been purely academic scholars such as historians, economists or sociologists, but rather who came from practical work and frequently continued their immediate political activities. For a score years, the senior was the leader of the African Office Andre Sik (1891-1978), originally a Hungarian, a former prisoner of war who, like his compatriot Mate Zalke, the Czech Jaroslav Gasec and the Croatian Josip Broz, took a most active part in the struggle for Soviet power in Russia.⁵ In 1932-1934, Ivan Izosimovich Potekhin (1903-1964) did graduate studies at the KUTV and in his youth he had been a leather plant worker, a participant in the battles on the KVZhD [East China Railroad], a graduate of the Minusinsk rabfak [worker faculty] and the Leningrad Eastern Institute, and subsequently Doctor of Historical Sciences, professor and first director of the Africa Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences (the future chairman and general secretary of the South African Communist Party John Marx and Moses Kotane who studied at the KUTV called him their teacher). In Leningrad, the first steps were taken in the study of African languages by Dmitriy Alekseyevich Ol'derogge, an egyptologist by education and now corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the patriarch of Soviet African studies and prominent ethnographer, linguist and literary scholar.

Because of a lack of space we are unable to describe in detail the contribution of each of these most multifaceted scholars in the establishing of Soviet African studies or mention many of their works which are still pertinent today. Let us merely emphasize the basic contribution of these and the other pioneers: for the first time in world science, they began to view African peoples as a subject [a principal] and not only as the object of a historical process. Being persuaded that the Africans must play their own role in the revolutionary renewal of the world, they endeavored to understand what this role might be. For this reason, they began to work out completely new problems in the breakdown of traditional society, the formation of the proletariat and other modern social strata as well as the struggle for social and national liberation.

The chapters written by A. Sik for the "Novaya istoriya kolonial'nykh i zavisimykh stran" [Modern History of the Colonial and Dependent Nations] which was published in 1940 became the first systematic Marxist-Leninist essay on the history of Tropical and Southern Africa. By the war's end, he had completed two colossal volumes containing a description of the region's history from antiquity up to World War II. It so happened that these were published only in the 1960's, along with two other volumes devoted to recent times. This fundamental work which evoked many disputes over individual factual inaccuracies and the validity of a number of judgments and generalizations nevertheless will never lose its importance as one of the first attempts not only in Marxist, but also in all world African studies to represent not the history of the white man in the Black Continent, but primarily the history of its indigenous population.

Prior to the works by I. I. Potekhin on South Africa and written by him in the 1930's, we will never find the posing of questions concerning the growing diversity in native society, on the nature of the anticolonial and proletarian organizations, on the role of the tribal and kinship hierarchy in the system of racial segregation or on the formation of a "black bourgeoisie" in the nation. And how important are these questions now!

Of course, several decades later, it is easy to talk about a certain schematicness in the concepts of the pioneers of our African studies. Their incompletely clear understanding of the specific African conditions led to a situation where frequently measures suitable rather for developed bourgeois societies were applied to the social forces and their relationships. The development level of the proletarian struggle was often overstated and at the same time those national liberation movements which under the conditions of those times did not advance, for example, the slogan of the immediate abolishment of colonialism were declared to be reformist. However, in considering that the pioneers of Soviet African studies during the prewar and first postwar years could not see the continent with their own eyes, they suffered from the most acute lack of concrete ideas about it and did not have broad contacts with foreign colleagues, one must not be surprised by the mistakes, but rather extol the positive contribution which they were able to make to the study of Africa.

One of the most essential elements in this contribution was the volume "Narody Afriki" [The Peoples of Africa] published in 1954 and marking the beginning of the multivolume series "Peoples of the World." Its editors and basic authors were I. I. Potekhin and D. A. Ol'derogge. During this period, when the African Sector of the Ethnography Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences (the KUTV and NIANKP had ceased to exist in 1937-1938) was concerned chiefly with the problems of African studies, upon their initiative the publishing of "Afrikan-skiye etnograficheskiye sborniki" [African Ethnographic Collections] was organized. In 1956, I. I. Potekhin organized the Africa Department at the Institute for Eastern Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences and at the end of 1959, the CPSU Central Committee, the Soviet government and the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences adopted a decision to organize the Africa Institute which was to be the leading academic center for Soviet African studies. Up to his death in 1964, it was headed by I. I. Potekhin, and in 1964-1977 by the Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences V. G. Solodovnikov. At present,

the institute's director is the Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences An. A. Gromyko who also holds the position of the chairman of the Scientific Council of the USSR Academy of Sciences on African Problems which was organized under the Social Sciences Section of the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences for coordinating research on African problems being conducted in scores of academy and educational institutes (according to their specialty) in various cities of the nation as well as for establishing and developing ties with field institutions, with the African studies centers of the socialist states and with scientific and academic institutions of the African nations.

Naturally, in a brief article it is impossible in any thorough way to analyze the diverse work carried out by the enormous detachment of Soviet Africanists. The scope of this work conforms to the role which Africa plays in today's world and to that complexity and heterogeneity which are inherent to the events and processes developing on the continent and around it. All the more hopeless would be an attempt to even mention all the noteworthy works about Africa published in our country recently. We might merely point out that the recently published retrospective bibliography of Soviet publications on this subject is an 800-page volume! This is why we will limit ourselves to reviewing the main areas of African studies, giving as an example predominantly only those scientific works which embody the efforts of entire scientific collectives and have gained reader recognition in our nation and abroad.

During the first stage of the development of the Africa institute, precisely during those years of the rapid decolonialization of the continent, the Africanists out of necessity paid great attention to accumulating factual material on the countries and creating a scientific information base, although then their publications were of great benefit in contributing to the dissemination of scientific knowledge about Africa and providing definite aid to field workers. At present, as a rule, several references are published annually containing the most diverse information on one or another African country.

Over time, research of a theoretical sort developed evermore widely and this was capable of serving as a secure foundation for the setting of Soviet foreign policy. The questions of methodology were more profoundly analyzed and this was apparent, for example, in the analysis of the balance of domestic and external, global and local (country) development factors, in the elaboration and reasoning of the "unitary" and "pluralistic" approaches to studying the nature of the societies in the developing world and so forth. More attention was paid to the methods and techniques of research and to comparing the conclusions obtained on a level of concrete analysis with the general theoretical concepts.

It is possible to establish the following basic areas of scientific activity by the Soviet Africanists at present and, obviously, over the next few years:

- a) An on-going study of the history of the African peoples and in particular their national liberation movements;
- b) The further elaboration of the Marxist-Leninist concept of development for the former colonies and semicolonies (the ways of achieving economic independence, the prerequisites and patterns of transition to a noncapitalist path of

development and so forth) based on a comprehensive study of the economic and sociopolitical problems of the continent;

- c) Improving the theoretical bases for the collaboration of the USSR with the independent African states;
- d) An analysis of the policy and ideology of neocolonialism and disclosure of the means and methods of neocolonialist expansion by the imperialist states;
- e) Research on the problems of the South of Africa and the struggle against apartheid and racism;
- f) Analysis of African cultures, their place in world cultural development, the problems of the establishing of modern African culture as well as the changes carried out in this sphere by the young states;
- g) The broadening of ethnographic research considering the social relations in the various nations of the continent and particularly the ethnic structure of the latter; the solving of problems related to the classification of African languages; the study of the kinship system, the community and so forth;
- h) Geographic research; studying the development and changes in the territorial structure of the economy, the processes of urbanization and the migration of the population, the territorial placement of natural resources and productive forces, the socioeconomic consequences of the "demographic explosion"; the elaboration of the bases for monitoring the condition of the environment and for preserving it.

Soviet Africanist historians have published a series of works which provide an integrated picture for the development of the liberation struggle in Africa. These are the collective monographs: "Velikiy Oktyabr' i Afrika" [Great October and Africa] (1980), "Afrika v novoye i noveysheye vremya" [Africa in Modern and Recent Times] (1976), the two-volume "Istoriya natsional'no-osvoboditel'noy bor'by narodov Afriki v novoye vremya" [The History of the National Liberation Struggle of the African Peoples in Modern Times] (1976) and "Istoriya natsional'no-osvoboditel'noy bor'by narodov Afriki v noveysheye vremya" [The History of the National Liberation Struggle of the African Peoples in Recent Times] (1978). The joint research prepared by the Institute of Military History under the GDR Ministry of Defense and the Africa Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences "Vooruzhennaya bor'ba narodov Afriki za svobodu i nezavisimost'" [The Armed Struggle of the African Peoples for Freedom and Independence] (Berlin, Militärverlag, 1981, in German) generalizes the experience of the liberation wars and the anticolonial revolts by the peoples of North and Tropical Africa in 1945-1978 and examines the historical traditions, methods and tactics of the rebel forces. The series "The History of the African Nations" was opened by "Istoriya Nigerii v novoye i noveysheye vremya" [The History of Nigeria in Modern and Recent Times] (1981) and this is the first general work in Soviet African studies of such a nature on the most populous African country.

But now political liberation has been achieved. What next? As a counterweight to the imperialist line of integrating the young states into the rapidly changing system of the international capitalist division of labor within which they

are gradually turned from agrarian-raw material into industrial-raw material appendages of imperialism with the maintaining and even intensifying of their overall dependence on the West, the former colonies, becoming evermore disillusioned with such a path from their own lamentable experience, are working out various concepts for achieving greater economic independence. These concepts recognize the necessity of qualitative social changes, including the elimination of property inequality, the nationalization of foreign property, the re-organizing of agrarian relations, the organizing of planning and a further strengthening of the state's economic role.

Among the collective works in the economic area, one might cite those such as "Ekonomika nezavisimykh stran Afriki" [The Economics of the Independent African Nations] (1972), "Deyatel'nost' mezhdunarodnykh ekonomiceskikh organizatsiy v stranakh Afriki" [The Activities of International Economic Organizations in the African Nations] (1973), "Gosudarstvennyy sektor v stranakh Afriki" [The State Sector in the African Nations] (1976), "Teoriya i metodologiya planirovaniya v razvivayushchikhsya stranakh" [The Theory and Methodology of Planning in the Developing Nations] (1979) with the participation of Bulgarian and GDR scholars, "Ekonomika razvivayushchikhsya stran. Teoriya i metody issledovaniya" [The Economy of the Developing Nations. Theory and Methods of Research] (1979), "Zarubezhnyye kontseptsii ekonomiceskogo razvitiya stran Afriki. Kriticheskiy analiz" [Foreign Concepts of Economic Development for the African Nations. Critical Analysis] (1980) and "Afrika 70-kh--80-kh godov. Stanovleniya natsional'noy ekonomiki i strategiya razvitiya" [Africa in the 1970's-1980's. The Establishing of the National Economy and the Development Strategy] (1980).

Considering the great theoretical and practical importance of the problem of the genesis of capitalist relations in Africa, their possibilities and growth limits, researchers are carrying out great work in this area. The most general conclusion is that in the Tropical African nations dependent capitalist development is occurring which not only does not solve the most acute socioeconomic tasks confronting them, but also exacerbates them and intensifies social tension. Capitalism, as a formation which has outlived itself, does not have broad prospects for development on the continent. It is no accident that namely in Africa are found a majority of the young states which have chosen a socialist orientation. These are responsible for 30 percent of the territory and almost 25 percent of the continent's population.

A socialist orientation is making headway in the nations characterized by a mixed economy, a low level of the productive forces, an archaic social structure, by the predominance of precapitalist and often prefeudal forms of social life as well as interethnic friction. The theory of socialist orientation, in being based upon the general patterns of scientific socialism, also considers the specific features of the individual states, it does not put one into opposition to the other and does not absolutize either.

Although in the socialist oriented nations the material situation for a majority of the workers still does not make it possible for them to fully satisfy the needs dictated by today, the socioeconomic measures by the progressive regimes do ensure a gradual rise in the standard of living of the people. Property inequality is being reduced, and the sharp social contrasts characteristic

of the very recent past are disappearing. The elimination of political dependence upon imperialism, the democratizing of the state system and the introduction of planning principles into the economy--these are the real accomplishments of the socialist orientation and its advantages over the capitalist path.

The successfulness of the progressive changes within the socialist orientation depends largely upon such a subjective factor as the ideology and tactics of the ruling revolutionary-democratic parties, for under African conditions, as has been repeatedly emphasized in our scientific literature, the superstructure possesses a certain "autonomy" in relation to the base (an instance foreseen by the founders of Marxism-Leninism).

Devoted to this range of questions are the collective works: "Afrika: problemy sotsialisticheskoy oriyentatsii" [Africa: Problems of Socialist Orientation] (1976), "Dva napravleniya sotsial'no-ekonomiceskogo razvitiya v Afrike" [The Two Directions of Socioeconomic Development in Africa] (1980), "Ideologiya revolyutsionnykh demokratov Afriki" [The Ideology of the African Revolutionary Democrats] (1981) as well as a series of monographs and articles penned by An. A. Gromyko, A. V. Kiva, N. D. Kosukhin, G. B. Starushenko and the country specialists.

Soviet Africanists have devoted significant attention to the international relations of the African countries, including the questions of Soviet-African co-operation and the interimperialist contradictions on the continent and to analyzing the situation in the Southern African region where the patriots of South Africa and Namibia are conducting an armed struggle against apartheid and racism. We would particularly mention the interdisciplinary fundamental research "Vneshnyaya politika stran Afriki" [The Foreign Policy of the African Nations] (1981) carried out by scholars from the USSR, the GDR, Poland and Czechoslovakia; the collective monograph "SSSR i strany Afriki (druzhba, sotrudnichestvo, podderzhka antiimperialisticheskoy bor'by)" [The USSR and the African Nations (Friendship, Cooperation and Support for the Anti-imperialist Struggle)] (1977) and which was published 3 years later in an English translation; the joint monograph by authors from the socialist countries "Neokolonializm. Novyye yavleniya" [Neocolonialism. New Phenomena] (Berlin, 1982, in English); the work by An. Gromyko "Konflikt na yuge Afriki: mezhdunarodnyy aspekt" [Conflict in the South of Africa: The International Aspect] (1979).

Co-workers from the special subdivisions of the Africa Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences and researchers at other scholarly institutions are intensely studying the particular features of the ethnic and social processes in the independent African nations, the formation of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie there, the role and place of the intermediate strata in the national liberation movement and the class struggle, the significance of the traditional community under new conditions, the place of religion in social life and so forth.

The Africanist ethnographers under the leadership of D. A. Ol'derogge are continuing to study the kinship systems, the ethnolinguistic situation and the traditional social institutions in Africa. In essence, they have opened up new prospects in interpreting the precolonial history of the continent, having shown the antiquity and indigenousness of African culture, both spiritual and

material, the complexity and development of art and social institutions in Africa, in incorporating this for the first time in the system of world civilizations, cultural and ethnic ties.

The international contacts of Soviet Africanists are broadening and growing stronger. Within the programs of cooperation among the academies of sciences of the fraternal socialist nations, in addition to those already mentioned, a number of monographs written by international author collectives have been published. In 1979, the First All-Union Conference on Ethiopian Research in Moscow included a delegation of scholars from Ethiopia as well as representatives from the African studies centers of Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR and Czechoslovakia. In the autumn of the same year, the Soviet Committee for Solidarity of African and Asian nations with assistance from the Africa Institute and the Scientific Council of the USSR Academy of Sciences on African Problems in cooperation with the UN Special Committee against Apartheid, in Alma-Ata held an international seminar on "The Role of the Public in Supporting the Struggle of the Peoples in the South of Africa against Racism, Apartheid and Colonialism." Twice, in 1979 and 1982, together with the UN Scientific Research and Training Institute (UNITAR), seminars were organized for the representatives of African, Asian and Latin American countries, respectively, on the problems of planning and developing the state sector. The Soviet-Nigerian scientific "roundtables" have become a good tradition and these rotate between the Africa Institute and the Nigerian Institute for International Relations (Lagos).

The first Soviet-African political science conference "For Peace and Social Progress" held in Moscow in October 1981 was a most representative forum. Participating in it were state and social leaders and scientists from 25 African nations.⁶ Having examined a broad range of problems concerning the present situation in the world, the economic and social development of the African states as well as Soviet-African relations, the delegates emphasized that the cardinal task of the modern world is the preservation of peace. Only under this condition is it possible to achieve success in the struggle to strengthen political sovereignty, economic independence and social progress. They stated that Soviet cooperation with the African nations is founded on the principles of mutual advantage, noninterference into the internal affairs of one another and completely conforms to the vital interests of both parties.

To aid in strengthening this cooperation, to provide the African peoples with even greater assistance in their anti-imperialist struggle and to deepen the fundamental research the results of which add to the treasurehouse of human knowledge--here are the tasks which are being carried out by Soviet African studies which are the same age as our state and made their first steps in the 1920's and have now become a world-recognized independent area of social science.

FOOTNOTES

¹ See NOVYY VOSTOK, No 6, 1924.

² For more detail, see An. Gromyko, "Lenin and Africa," AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, No 5, 1980; Apollon Davidson, "Lenin on South Africa," AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, No 4, 1982.

³ Quoted in "Afrika glazami nashikh sootechestvennikov" [Africa Through the Eyes of Our Compatriots], Moscow, 1974, p 37.

⁴ If one does not consider the naval Lt V. M. Golovin who in 1808-1809, when Russia was involved in the anti-English coalition, was able on the sloop "Diana" to slip out of Simonstown, South Africa, where he had actually been held prisoner for 13 months, and the anthropologist, ethnographer and geographer V. V. Yunker who, in 1876-1887, made two trips to Central Africa.

⁵ In the 1920's and 1930's, A. Sik, without ceasing his African research, worked in the Comintern. After 1945, he held responsible diplomatic posts in Hungary, he was the minister of foreign affairs (up to 1961) and chairman of the Hungarian Peace Council and a member of the World Peace Council. In 1968, he was awarded the international Lenin Prize "For Strengthening Peace Between Peoples."

⁶ For a report on the conference and an interview with its participants, see AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, No 1, 1982.

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RULING PARTIES IN SOCIALIST ORIENTATION AFRICAN STATES DESCRIBED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 2, Feb 83 pp 2-5

[Article by N. Kosukhin, doctor of historical sciences: "Typical Features of the Vanguard Parties of the Workers (In the Example of the Countries of Africa")]

[Text] The decree of the CPSU Central Committee, entitled "The 60th Anniversary of the Formation of the USSR" notes that "the young states, and primarily those which have chosen the socialist orientation, take an attitude of lively interest in the Soviet experience in national-state construction, and the transition of a number of the peoples of the USSR to socialism, bypassing the capitalist stage of development.

"Along the path that was laid by the Great October, together with the peoples of the USSR, the marchers today include hundreds of millions of people in various countries of Europe, Asia, Africa, and Latin America. There is no road, and there can be no road, to socialism that goes around the general natural laws that were discovered by Marxism-Leninism and that were confirmed by the experience of the USSR and the countries of real socialism, and by the international practice of the revolutionary struggle and socialist creation, just as there can be no successful forward movement along that path without the complete consideration of the national peculiarities of each country."

What was said pertains equally to the party construction in the socialistically oriented countries of Africa. The processes that are occurring in them -- the deepening of the national-liberation revolutions and the social demarcation caused by them; the regrouping of the class forces -- bring about the need to refine the strategic position and the tactical line of the ruling parties on the African continent. These processes find expression not only in the political activities of the parties, but also in their very structure, which conforms to the latest conditions and circumstances.

The parties in the young states of the continent have gone through three stages in their development. At the first stage, during the period of the struggle for national independence, they, as a rule, were mass organizations of the type of the national-democratic front.

The attainment of independence and the choice of the path of fundamental socioeconomic reforms -- of socialist orientation (the second phase) -- coincide

with the formation of the revolutionary-democratic parties. Those parties are characterized by a more clearly expressed class, ideological, and political position as compared with the parties of the national-front type and they mark the transition from the national principle of construction of the party to the social-class principle.

The third stage is linked with the deepening of the national-democratic revolution in the countries of socialist orientation; this stage is typified by the formation of the vanguard parties of the workers*.

Historical experience attests to the fact that the preservation and consolidation of the positions of the progressive forces are possible only where there is a revolutionary party that is guided by society and that operates on the basis of the principles of scientific socialism. In the Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th Congress of Soviet Communists, it was emphasized that in the countries of socialist orientation "one observes the strengthening of the revolutionary parties that express the interests of the broad masses of the workers."

As the national-democratic revolution deepens and the social antagonisms become more intensified, there arises the need to reorganize the revolutionary parties. The tasks and needs of the revolutionary movement require the party to unite within its ranks the consistent adherents of socialism from among the working nation -- the workers, peasants, and the working intellectuals. The party must form as an organized and consolidated detachment that confirms the creative discipline of its members. The principle of democratic centralism is confirmed in party construction. Thus there arise the vanguard parties of the workers, parties which proclaim scientific socialism to be the theoretical basis of their activities. The creation of a vanguard party is a very important factor along the path of socialist orientation, inasmuch as that party is capable of guaranteeing the political leadership of the activities of the masses in the revolutionary transformation of colonial structures. The striving to create this kind of party is attested to by the experience of party construction in the Congo, Angola, Mozambique, Benin, and Ethiopia.

During the first years of independence, certain African revolutionaries posed the task of creating a vanguard detachment within the ruling mass parties. For example, in the Rules of the Party of the People's Convention of Ghana, provision is made for the creation of a "select corps," of "vanguard activists." It was noted that "the party needs a vanguard of activists and propagandists who have consciously dedicated themselves to the cause, who are ideologically trained to be 'the guards and defenders of the party line.'" Gamal Abdel Naser also expressed the idea of the "creation of a socialist vanguard of the Arab Socialist Union."

The political program of the SWAPO -- the Southwest African People's Organization -- poses the task of uniting the entire nation of Namibia, especially the working class, the peasantry, and the progressive intellectuals, around the vanguard party, a party which is "capable of defending national

* Certain Soviet authors use in this instance the term "vanguard revolutionary-democratic parties of the workers." See, for example, V. Chirkin, "Countries of Socialist Orientation: The Development of Revolutionary Parties," AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, No 8, 1981.

independence and of building a classless society, in which there is no place for the exploitation of man by man, a society that is based on scientific socialist ideals and principles."

The revolutionary democrats adhere to various views relative to what the vanguard party should be like. There is a tendency to view the party apparatus as the nucleus of such parties. Other leaders (for example, A. Sekou Toure) feel that at the modern stage of development of the revolution the mass party, which is vanguard in its role in the struggle for socialism, must be preserved.

The adherents of yet another point of view of the problem of the vanguard party are in favor of the formation of a party of the working class and peasantry, which is guided by Marxist-Leninist ideology. The striving to carry out party construction in this direction can be seen in the Congo, Angola, Mozambique, Benin, and Ethiopia.

The party-organizational construction of the vanguard parties depends upon the concrete historical and social conditions, and the political situation. In some countries (Angola, Mozambique) the vanguard parties grow out of the mass party of the national-front type; in others, they are constructed by creating qualitatively new political organizations (the Congo, Benin, Ethiopia). At the same time it should be emphasized that the formation of the vanguard parties of the workers is the result of the maturation of the objective and subjective prerequisites in the development of the revolutionary process in the liberated countries.

An intermediate stage on the path of the construction of the vanguard party of the workers is represented by the vanguard revolutionary-democratic parties (for example, in Guinea and Algeria), which are still mass, all-national associations and are based on individual principles of the theory of scientific socialism.

The formation of the vanguard parties of the workers means the deepening of the social content of the national-democratic revolution, the development of its people's-democratic tendency and socialistic revolution*. The formation of vanguard parties reflects the changes in the class composition of the ruling coalition and in the placement of the political forces in the structure of authority, and attests to the qualitative changes in its social nature, when the exploiter elements gradually are eliminated from all types of state and political activity.

With the existence of a common social-class base for the revolutionary-democratic and vanguard parties of the workers, the latter, in their activities, put their emphasis on the working class, its union with the peasantry. The program documents of the vanguard parties of the workers characterize the working class and the peasantry as the political vanguard, as the advanced and most organized detachment of the workers. In the countries of socialist orientation, there have been qualitative changes in the composition and

* See: A. Kiva, "The States of Socialist Orientation: Certain Problems of Development," AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, No 2, 1982.

structure of the working class, which are determined by the activity of the state sector and by the rise in the level of literacy and professional training of the workers.

The coming into being of truly Marxist-Leninist parties is linked with a change in the social nature of the parties, with the formation of the most conscious proletarian nucleus, which will exert an influence upon the entire policy of the revolutionary-democratic forces. This process can already be discerned today in the social appearance of certain vanguard parties. For example, in the MPLA -- the Angola Labor Party -- out of 31,000 members and candidates, industrial workers constitute 25.9 percent; agricultural workers more than 23 percent; peasants, 1.9 percent; intellectuals and technical personnel, 6 percent; and employees, more than 39 percent.

During recent years, in the midst of the working class, the ideas of socialism have begun to penetrate more and more deeply, and this has contributed to a rise in the level of its political awareness. The working class actively supports the socioeconomic reforms, although there are many places in which it has not yet become the support of the revolutionary-democratic forces. The increase in the role of the working class poses in a new way the question of the political leadership in the countries of socialist orientation.

In this group of countries, the trade-union organizations act as a very important political force. They exert an influence upon the scope and rates of the revolutionary process, and actively promote the carrying out of profound social and economic reforms, and the training and indoctrination of the cadres of the national proletariat. In many countries of socialist orientation, the trade unions possess broad powers and participate in the planning of the work of enterprises, in the regulation of the payment of the labor performed by the workers, and in the distribution of profit. The course aimed at socialism contributes to the political maturity of the working class, to the consolidation of the unity and organizational spirit of the trade unions, and to the active search by them for new work forms and methods. Thus, the All-Ethiopian Trade Union which was created in January 1977, and which united 350,000 persons, posed as its task the promoting of the implementation of the Program of National-Democratic Revolution, of being the vanguard in the struggle to raise the political awareness and labor discipline.

The advance detachments of the revolutionary democracy have become aware that genuine, scientific socialism requires a class approach to the life of a society, an approach that corresponds to the interests of the working masses, and primarily the workers and peasants. Great importance is attached to the reinforcement of the ideological and organizational unity of the ruling parties. The process of evolution of the revolutionary democracy in the direction of Marxism-Leninism manifested itself in the following: 1) socialism was declared to be the final goal of development, and Marxism-Leninism to be the scientific theory that points out the revolutionary paths and methods of achieving it, and the concept of socialist orientation has been adopted (officially or factually); 2) the vanguard parties of the workers are proclaimed to be the guiding force of the new society; 3) there has been a recognition of the class nature of African society in the scientific, Marxist interpretation of that concept, and the necessity of the class struggle; 4) we observe at present a departure

from the principles of nationalism to the principles of patriotism and ethno-national equal rights -- on the domestic level, and to the principles of anti-imperialistic solidarity with socialist internationalism -- on the foreign level.

The creation of the vanguard parties also represents the results of the interpretation of the historical experience of the activity of the communist parties, primarily the CPSU, the understanding of Lenin's teaching concerning the necessity of creating a vanguard organization of the working class in the struggle to build a new society. "Guided by Lenin's words to the effect that the proletariat needs a party that is armed with advanced theory -- with Marxism," Chairman of the Provisional Military Administrative Council of Ethiopia, Mengistu Haile-Mariam, noted, "the Ethiopian revolution from the very beginning has applied large efforts for the unification and organization of all the revolutionary forces, for the raising of the level of their political awareness and their ideological armament."

The leaders of the vanguard parties have repeatedly noted that when developing the program party documents they were guided not only by the theory of Marxism-Leninism, but also by the practice of implementing it in the course of socialist construction in the USSR and the other countries of the worldwide socialist community. The theory and practice of real socialism, the Leninist principles of party construction were used during the creation of the vanguard parties of the workers in the developing countries. Characterizing the ideological and political platform of the Congolese Labor Party, the chairman of the Central Committee of that party, Denis Sassou-Nguesso, emphasized that its "organizational structure, orientation, and final goal have been determined on the basis of the experience of the new type of parties, among which a brilliant example is the party of Lenin."

The vanguard parties, as the conductors of the ideas of scientific socialism in Africa, devote a large part of their activities to propagandizing the Marxist-Leninist theory, to the familiarizing of the population of the African countries with the experience of socialist construction and with the resolution of the national question in the USSR and the development of the economy and national culture in the Soviet republics.

Under the present-day conditions the vanguard parties strive to resolve the task that was posed by V. I. Lenin for the communists of the East: "translate the true communist teaching, which is intended for the communists of the more advanced countries, into the language of every nation. . .".*

A very important feature of the vanguard parties was the confirmation in the program documents of their guiding role in the state and in society. In the report of the Central Committee to the 3rd Congress of the Mozambique National Liberation Front (FRELIMO), for example, it is stated: "The party determines the strategy and tactics which must serve as the guide when destroying the old apparatus and building the new, people's-democratic state;

* V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 39, p 330.

the party guarantees that the responsible state positions will be occupied by party members who are devoted to the cause of the revolution; the party uses the state as a tool for carrying out its revolutionary policy. The party plans the basic trends for development in all fields of social life and monitors their execution; the party guarantees the creation in all state agencies of primary party organizations for the implementation of its political line; the party constantly and on a broad scale carries out work to train advanced workers and peasants to occupy the administrative positions in the state apparatus; the party indoctrinates the state workers in the spirit of service to the nation. The party mobilizes all the workers for the support of the state."

Statements of principle concerning the party's guiding and directing role, which are close in content, are contained in the party documents of other countries of socialist orientation.

The formation of the vanguard party of the workers occurs on principles of democratic centralism. At such time very great importance is attached to the class nature of the party, to the selection of its members. They must possess firm moral qualities and must be convinced revolutionary-fighters.

The scope of the duties of the members of the vanguard parties includes: a thorough study of Marxism-Leninism and its creative application in the concrete, specific conditions of the country, as well as the struggle to observe the Marxist-Leninist political and ideological orientation of the party.

Acceptance into the party is carried out by the low-level party organizations after a study of the candidate's personality. For entry into the party ranks, it is necessary for a person to have recommendations from two or three party members. A candidate's probationary period has been established for the purpose of checking the entrant's political maturity and for him to acquire experience in political work.

The basis of the party is its primary organization, which is created in worker collectives. Low-level organizations are created according to the territorial-production principle; and the reinforcement and augmentation of the composition of the party are continued by bringing into it chiefly workers and peasants. A plenum of the Central Committee of the Congolese Labor Party which was held in 1979 considered the question of the renewing of the party ranks, and the increasing of their size. It was noted in the plenum's decisions that the growth of the party ranks must be accompanied by the efficient selection of candidates and there must be the most rigid verification of their political awareness and their moral qualities.

"The guidance of the struggle of the working class and the masses of the people, having in mind the prospects for the construction of socialism," the chairman of the Central Committee of the Congolese Labor Party, Denis Sassou-Nguesso, remarked, "must be carried out by the vanguard Marxist-Leninist party; the preservation of the purity of its class nature requires taking the most rigid approach to the selection of its members."

The plenum of the FRELIMO Central Committee (July 1980) adopted decisions aimed at the further development of the "political-organizational offensive" in the area of party construction. The plenum devoted special attention to questions of the party's cadre policy and questions of ideological indoctrination work among the party members and the population. Those decisions emphasized the vital necessity of the constant improvement, by all party members, and especially the administrative personnel, of their knowledge in the area of Marxist-Leninist theory. Similar work is being carried out in Angola. As was emphasized at the 1st Special Party Congress by its chairman, Jose Eduardo dos Santos, "the basic question is not the structure or quantity of members or institutions that the Angola Labor Party has at its disposal, but its class nature, its ideology and social composition."

The creation of the vanguard party of the workers is proceeding in an unusual manner in Ethiopia. In late 1979 the Commission for the Organization of the Workers' Party [of Ethiopia] [COWPE--in Russian KOPTE] was founded. The convoking of the 1st COWPE Congress (16-19 June 1980) laid the beginning for the practical activities of creating in Ethiopia a vanguard party of the workers. COPWE is not yet a party, but a political organization, an unusual school of indoctrination, it is a prototype of the future vanguard party of the workers. The principle that has been proclaimed as the organizational basis of the COWPE is the principle of democratic centralism; and its ideological basis, the theory of Marxism-Leninism. Ethiopian revolutionaries have posed tasks of tremendous importance -- the creation of an advanced, conscious, and organized detachment of the workers, and primarily the working class. As was noted by the chairman of the COWPE, Mengistu Haile-Mariam, everything necessary is being done in the country to guarantee the drawing into the party ranks of "only genuine and well-tested communists."

At the 2nd COWPE Congress, which was held in January 1983, Mengistu Haile-Mariam emphasized that during the forthcoming period the commission has been called upon to develop a concrete strategy for the formation of a Marxist-Leninist party of Ethiopia.

The basic goal of the vanguard parties at the present-day level is the consolidation of national independence, the expansion and reinforcement of the people's-democratic authority, the consolidation and development of the national economy for the creation of the political, ideological, technical, and material foundations of socialism.

The course of the vanguard parties at the creative application of the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism under the conditions of the national and historical specifics of the African countries finds expression in the striving to carry out consistently the Leninist concept of the noncapitalistic development of the previously colonial nations, in the use of the experience of the countries of the socialist community with respect to foreign private capital during the creation of the state sector, the reorganization of petty-commodity production, planning, and the carrying out of agrarian reforms and the creation of cooperatives. The success of the socioeconomic policy of the vanguard parties of the workers depends largely upon the creative application of the experience of the countries in the socialist community, and the ability to consolidate and mobilize broad masses for the fulfillment of the national-economic tasks, as well as upon the rise in the level of

competency of the administrative personnel and the level of political leadership, which takes into consideration the objective laws of development and rejects subjectivism and voluntarism.

The vanguard parties which are forming, from the point of view of their goals, their platform, their principles, and ideological base, have closely approached the Marxist-Leninist parties. The vanguard parties have a number of features and attributes in common with the parties of the Marxist-Leninist type. They include the unity of the ideological-political principles, solidarity on the basis of democratic centralism, and the guiding role of the party in the revolutionary transformation of society.

In everyday work, a great amount of importance is attached to the activities of the primary party organizations -- the basis of every political party. They are linked with the broad masses of the workers. They have been called upon to implement the goals and tasks of the party. However, the role of the low-level party links, the ordinary members of certain vanguard parties, is, for the time being, insignificant.

The program documents of the revolutionary-democratic forces reflect the striving on the part of their administrative circles to accelerate the creation of the prerequisites for the construction of a new society. However, practical life attests that certain revolutionary democrats have not yet had sufficient experience in political or economic work, and their level of theoretical training is sometimes extremely low. Therefore, the Marxist-Leninist principles that have been proclaimed in the program documents are not always used skillfully in everyday activities, when applied to the complicated conditions of the African situation.

Frequently the creative interpretation of Marxism, the understanding of the common natural laws underlying the development along the path of socialist orientation, the universal nature of their theory of socialism, are hindered by subjective evaluations of the situation. It is also necessary to take into consideration the fact that the social basis of the vanguard parties is made up primarily of the nonproletarian segments of the workers, and the working class that is forming. As a result, these parties have not yet become parties of revolutionary action at all levels.

The springing up of the vanguard parties attests to the increase in the role of the working class in the democratic bloc of the ruling forces of the countries of socialist orientation. The vanguard parties advance the task of confirming the guiding role of the working class, of consolidating its union with the peasantry and the other revolutionary forces.

The transition of the vanguard parties of the workers to positions of the working class is inseparably linked with the recognition and the implementation of that very important principle of scientific socialism -- the principle of proletarian solidarity.

The ideas of internationalism evolve from the anti-imperialistic and anti-colonial solidarity of the peoples of the countries of socialist orientation with world socialism, with the communist and workers' movement. It can be asserted that this factor has contributed to the further evolution of the revolutionary-democratic forces in the direction of scientific socialism.

The international significance of the historical experience of the CPSU and the other communist and workers' parties of the countries of socialism lies primarily in the fact (and the African revolutionaries have been convinced of this in their own experience) that, without the conscious, organized political vanguard that is guided by scientific socialism, and that is capable of expressing completely the interests of the working masses, it is impossible to wage successfully the struggle for socialism.

During recent years there has been an expansion of the interparty ties between the CPSU and the revolutionary parties of the African countries. Meetings between the representatives of the CPSU and those parties occur on a regular basis, on the basis of coordinated plans and agreements of cooperation. They are of a businesslike and constructive nature. The interparty relations enrich the political content of the cooperation between the USSR and the African countries.

The process of formation of the vanguard parties of the workers is a profoundly objective process, which is linked with the development of the national-democratic revolution, the class demarcation, and the consolidation of the progressive forces on the ideological basis of scientific socialism.

As the vanguard parties of the workers develop, as the ideological level rises and the social composition of the party members changes, as the methods of administering the state and society improve, and the principles of democratic centralism and intraparty democracy are reinforced, one observes an increase in the activity rate of the ordinary party members, their sense of responsibility for the activities of the party organization. All this leads to the further increase in the party's combat capability, to the reinforcement of its guiding role in society and the state, and to the creation of truly Marxist-Leninist parties.

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MEXICAN ECONOMIC, POLITICAL PROBLEMS, FOREIGN POLICY EXAMINED

Moscow NOVAYA I NOVEYSHAYA ISTORIYA in Russian No 2, Mar-Apr 82 pp 159-172

[Article by A. Igorev: "Contemporary Mexico"]

[Excerpt] Economic Development

Mexico is one of the economically most developed countries in Latin America. By the end of the 1970s it had become the 17th strongest nation in the world in the development of several most important economic sectors (petrochemistry, electronics, automobile manufacturing). Ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy, general chemistry and petrochemistry, some varieties of machine building, electrical engineering and electronics were beginning to play a leading role in its industrial structure. Its development rate was higher than that of most countries on the continent. Mexico was satisfying to a significant extent its domestic needs for industrial goods and equipment, and its program of replacing imported with domestically produced goods was being implemented with relative success. However, internal contradictions inherent in countries following the path of dependent capitalist development could be noticed behind such apparent prosperity.

Mexican capitalism which had entered the stage of state-monopoly development only 30 years previously, was now marked by an even greater merging of monopoly foreign and domestic capital, with an increased role and influence on the part of foreign capital investments.

During the 1970s increased production concentration and capital centralization led to the growth of local monopoly groups. Today 50 financial-industrial associations control 300 of the largest enterprises which account for as much as 45 percent of the GNP.

At the same time, Mexico's dependence on foreign capital continued to increase despite some restricting measures taken by the government. Foreign capital accounts for 75 percent in the automobile, pharmaceutical and food industry sectors. During the first 5 years the influx of foreign capital doubled, reaching \$400 million in 1975, of which the United States accounted for 75 percent. Foreign capital began actively to penetrate previously "national" economic sectors such as trade and services. Cases in which foreign monopolies invested not in the construction of new enterprises but in the acquisition of existing ones became more frequent. Approximately one-half of Mexico's

economy is tied to the U.S. market, and about 90 percent of its long-term foreign debt is also owed to the United States.

As in the past, foreign monopoly expansion is supported by the most influential segment of the ruling class. The liberal and the nationalistic groups of the national bourgeoisie have no actual possibility of blocking this expansion, while the state resorts extensively to foreign loans, forms associations with domestic and foreign monopolies and actively pursues a policy of strengthening the so-called "mixed economy." According to official data, on 30 June 1979 the country had more than 5,000 enterprises in which foreign capital had been invested, 2,500 of which in the processing industry, 1,114 in trade, 1,104 in services and 207 in ore-mining and metallurgy.

The global economic crisis, which broke out in the mid-1970s, had a noticeable impact on Mexico. Production dropped and the growth rate of the GNP declined. U.S. foreign trade protectionism and the aggravated energy crisis hit a hard blow to the Mexican economy. The balance of payments deficit rose sharply, foreign currency holdings diminished and the country's foreign debt continued to grow. The fast population growth (estimated at reaching 100 million by the year 2000) and the rural migration to the towns under the influence of the crisis in agricultural production increased unemployment. Inflation became a serious problem, with retail prices increasing at a 30 percent annual rate.

The situation in agriculture became difficult. Despite a favorable climate which guarantees two to three crops annually on irrigated land, Mexico is unable to grow its own basic staple foods. In 1980 alone grain purchases cost the country \$295 million. The reason for the lagging agrarian sector lies not only in the relatively weak technical base, lack of fertilizers and limited use of modern agrotechnical methods, but the opposition of foreign monopolies, U.S. above all, to increasing the production of farm goods, for they own 90 percent of food and 60 percent of feed production and dictate food prices.

The Mexican economy began to experience noticeable hardships. The development rate slowed down, reaching no more than 2 percent in the mid-1970s. The "floating" peso rate of exchange was introduced in 1976, which immediately led to its headlong devaluation. All of this was accompanied by growing state budget deficits, accelerated inflation, increased unemployment (more than 8 million people are totally or partially unemployed according to official statistics), and the further impoverishment of the poorest population strata. Most usually, the unemployed Mexicans from the northern states of the country (known as "braceros") move illegally to the United States, taking any available job and swelling the already vast army of Mexican workers who work for a pittance in the U.S. south.

Faced with these difficulties, President Luis Echeverria's administration (1970-1976) tried to protect the national economy from foreign capital. A number of laws were passed aimed at controlling the activities of foreign monopolies in the country: rules were imposed on foreign technology transfers, control over foreign capital investments (1973) and the patents and use of trademarks (1975). Their purpose was not to ban or "frighten-off" foreign capital but to restrict its activities somewhat. Accordingly, foreign capital could not control more than 49 percent of investments in an enterprise.

Advance permission was required to purchase large blocks of shares in Mexican enterprises, and a National Foreign Investments Company was set up. These legislative acts were serious enough to protect the national economy from foreign capital expansion.

Mexico pursued a similar line in international economic relations. At the third session of the UN Trade and Development Conference, in April 1972, it submitted a draft "Charter of Economic Rights and Obligations of States," which was adopted by the 29th UN General Assembly; with other Latin American countries it took part in drafting a "Behavior Code" for foreign monopolies. These most important documents recognize the right of developing countries to control and regulate the activities of foreign monopolies and to expropriate their property for purposes of national development. They make it incumbent upon multinational companies to observe the laws of the host country and to refrain from interfering in its domestic affairs. Under the Echeverria government, Mexican diplomacy persistently supported the establishment of a new economic order and the demands which a group of developing and nonaligned countries made at the UN.

These policies were continued under Jose Lopez Portillo, who became president in 1976. In the area of international economic problems, his government laid particular emphasis on the need for new regulations in the power industry. In his speech to the 34th UN General Assembly, the Mexican president suggested that talks be initiated with a view to drafting a "universal energy plan" mandatory for all the members of the international community. Tremendous petroleum and natural gas deposits were discovered on Mexican territory and continental shelf in the second half of the 1970s. In September 1981, proven deposits were estimated at, respectively, 52 and 20 billion barrels. Partial surveys estimate potential petroleum deposits at 49 billion barrels. Today Mexico is the fourth largest owner of petroleum resources in the capitalist world, after Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Iran. The existence of these resources gave a new boost to the development of the Mexican economy, its state sector above all, gave birth to optimism regarding the future of the country, enabled it to repay part of its foreign debt, which had reached some \$76 billion in June 1982, to lower unemployment and ease the food and some of the gravest social problems. The rich petroleum deposits enhanced Mexico's role in international affairs and forced the major developed capitalist countries to pay greater attention to it. Petroleum exports earned the country some \$10 billion in 1980 alone, which resulted in a tangible economic upturn. Between 1977 and 1981 the average annual GNP increase exceeded 8 percent. The government's policy of strengthening the country's economic independence, based on increased petroleum production, aggravated the conflicts with the United States, which tried to impose on Mexico agreements on exporting most of its petroleum to the North American Continent at prices advantageous to American petroleum monopolies. However, Mexico let it be understood that its interests related to the way it used its oil clashed with the intentions of U.S. monopolies of taking over the country's petroleum extraction industry.

Following the leap in oil production, which tripled between 1976 and 1980, reaching 100-110 million tons per year, the Lopez Portillo government took a firm course of limiting extraction in order to prevent a premature exhaustion of reserves and use the oil primarily for the development of the national

economy and strengthening the country's independence. The Mexican government not only refused substantially to increase deliveries to the United States but also tried to reduce the percentage of oil it sold to its northern neighbor: thus, whereas the United States accounted for 90 percent of total Mexican oil exports in 1979, by 1980 it accounted for 54 percent only. Mexico expressed its intention to use its oil wealth to aid the developing countries and urged the other petroleum producers to follow its example.

However, despite the "oil boom," Mexico was struck by a severe financial-economic crisis in the middle of 1982, rooted in its insufficiently stable economic structure. Although income from petroleum exports accounted for three-quarters of its export revenues, the system of non-equivalent trade was forcing Mexico to purchase the industrial equipment it needed at higher prices, while selling its raw materials and traditional exports goods at reduced prices. The recent drop in petroleum prices on the world market and the higher discount rates charged by American banks dealt Mexico a painful blow. Its foreign debt leaped to \$80 billion and virtually all of its oil revenue was used to pay the interest on the loans. Under these circumstances, the government was forced to nationalize private banks and to impose controls over currency deals in order to stop financial speculations and capital outflow. In his 1 September 1982 annual report to the parliament, President J. Lopez Portillo openly stated that the private banks, as promoters of the interests of multinational corporations, helped the increase in speculation and the draining of capital abroad, thus worsening the existing difficulties and making the country dependent on foreign factors. Under the present circumstances in which imperialist groups, U.S. in particular, are trying to profit from the situation which has developed in Mexico in order to subordinate its rich natural resources, petroleum above all, to their interests, the decision made by the government assumes special importance, for it opens extensive opportunities for strengthening the state economic sector in the country's development.

Efforts to Implement Bourgeois Reforms in Answer to the Increased Struggle Waged by the Working People for Their Socioeconomic Rights

As we pointed out, the foundations of Mexico's governmental and political systems were laid during the 1910-1917 bourgeois-democratic revolution. The historically developed actual power monopoly held by the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), which has uninterruptedly run the country since 1929, is the dominant feature in the country's domestic political life.

The PRI, which represents the interests of the big national and agrarian bourgeoisie, has actually blended with the state apparatus and plays a leading role in the government, the parliament and the local authorities. A *sui generis* bloc of party and state bureaucracy has developed, wielding total power in the country. The concepts of the "permanent Mexican revolution" and "revolutionary nationalism" are the ideological foundation of the ruling party's activities. According to them, the 1910-1917 revolution is allegedly continuing through the activities of all bourgeois governments which are pursuing its ideals "for the good of the entire society" by constitutional methods. Extensive official propaganda of such views, the reformist nature of the PRI and its ability to maneuver among a variety of political forces have

enabled it to assume a dominant position in the country's sociopolitical life. It includes representatives of various Mexican bourgeois groups, some workers, peasants, craftsmen and intellectuals, and the majority of state employees. Collective party members include worker trade unions and peasant organizations which were set up in the course of the implementation of the agrarian reform. The heterogeneity of the social forces rallied by the PRI leads to an occasional sharp intraparty struggle. The party's policy, however, is essentially determined by a central group which represents the interests of the big industrial, financial and commercial bourgeoisie, whose representatives usually hold the leading positions in the party and the government.

All of these circumstances enable the Mexican governments to control the domestic political situation and to play the role of a kind of "umpire," allegedly called upon to "reconcile" the interests of the bourgeoisie and the workers for the sake of maintaining "class peace" and settle conflicts among the various bourgeois groups. However, the government frequently engages in savage reprisals against participants in democratic movements, should the latter begin to gain some strength.

The strengthening of local monopoly capital and its close intertwining of its interests with those of the foreign monopolies, and the fast penetration of multinational corporations into the most important economic sectors, which aggravate the class contradictions in the country, triggered substantial changes in the deployment of class forces in the 1970s.

Substantial changes took place in the structure of the working class, which currently accounts for about one-half of the country's active population. The industrial nucleus of the proletariat strengthened and currently accounts for 73 percent of factory and plant workers. The concentration of the proletariat in the large enterprises increased: 43 percent of the workers work at plants and factories employing over 200 people. The rapprochement between some of the technical intelligentsia and the white collar workers with the proletariat, based on labor conditions and economic situation, significantly widened the social base of the labor movement. The level of organization of the proletariat improved: the share of unionized blue and white collar workers reached about 40 percent in industry, and as much as 70-90 percent in some sectors (electric power, transportation, ore mining). Although the majority of the workers remain trapped by conformist and trade unionist views, said processes have brought about a general energizing of the labor movement and an increase in the number and scope of strikes.

Of late participation in strikes by workers in virtually all industrial, transportation and service industry sectors has become a characteristic feature in the labor movement. From an average of 500 per year between 1975 and 1977, the number of strikes increased to some 600 in 1978 and as many as 900 in 1979. Large sectorial strikes against mass lay-offs, wage ceilings and other anti-inflationary measures and for improving labor conditions through revisions of collective labor contracts are assuming an increasingly important role. Frequently they involve tens of thousands of strikers. Thus, general strikes of electric power industry workers (20,000), textile workers (25,000), telephone workers (20,000), workers in the rubber and sugar industries (42,000) and railroad workers took place in 1978-1980.

The strengthening of the labor movement has been manifested also in the fact that along with strikes for higher wages and the satisfaction of strictly economic demands by the working people, a mass struggle has spread for freeing the trade unions from the influence of the state apparatus and the trade union bureaucracy. An upsurge was noted in the peasant movement, and the activities of all democratic and anti-imperialist forces have increased.

Political changes have taken place as well in the labor movement. The influence of the Mexican Communist Party, which set itself the task of mounting a mass struggle for trade union and political freedoms, has intensified.

The crisis in the political system which developed with the new political situation of the 1970s, was manifested in the founding of several other leftist parties and groups and the intensification of differences within existing bourgeois parties.

The fast growth of foreign, U.S. above all, capital investments in Mexico increased the country's economic dependence on imperialism. This triggered the objections of the broad public strata and a certain concern on the part of the national bourgeoisie not directly dependent on foreign capital.

The intensification of the process of bankruptcies of small and medium-sized enterprises in town and country worsened the material situation of the intelligentsia, the university students and some categories of state employees, the ranks of which became noticeably stratified. As a result, a substantial percentage of the intelligentsia, the students and the teachers in secondary and higher educational institutions began to oppose the political course of the ruling party.

The profound discontent among the multi-million strong peasant population and the democratic public resulted in a substantial slow-down and, in a number of cases, total interruption of the land reform in the 1970s. There were increased cases of unauthorized seizures of landed estates by peasants with little or no land.

Consequently, resistance to the offensive mounted by big capital against the living standard and rights of the working people and for strengthening national independence, restricting the activities of imperialist monopolies and democratizing all sociopolitical life considerably intensified in the 1970s. Despite its insufficient level of organization, the movement spread among the broad population strata and rapidly gathered strength. In the course of its development, the participants became aware of the need for joint efforts. An aspiration toward specific coordination of activities developed and the solidarity among the broad public circles strengthened. This was an indication that a crisis had developed within the Mexican political system.

All of this began seriously to worry the ruling circles, the more so since the development of the democratic movement in Mexico was taking place against the background of a general intensification of the national liberation struggle of the peoples of Latin America, in an atmosphere of positive changes in the world and changed ratio of forces in the world arena in favor of socialism and under the influence of the ideas of the victorious Cuban revolution.

The polarization of political forces made the country's ruling circles pay particular attention to the policy of social maneuvering in an effort to lower the tension of the labor movement and obstruct the development of class self-awareness and the struggle of the proletariat.

Under the Echeverria government, in order to impose on the labor movement the concept of worker "coparticipation" in the creation of a modern "industrial society" through the joint efforts of the trade unions, the entrepreneurs and the state, numerous committees and "foundations" were set up, consisting of representatives of these organizations, and the rights of the workers in resolving some social problems were broadened. State funds for the construction of schools were increased and some positive changes were made in the field of social legislation, which enlarged the category of working people covered by social security.

Steps were also taken to control the activities of foreign capital and previous decisions on the implementation of the agrarian reform were revised. The higher purchase prices paid by government agricultural companies led to increased agricultural production, and state capital investments in this area were increased.

As the struggle between right- and left-wing political forces continued to increase, President Lopez Portillo (1976-1982) was forced to undertake further reforms. In particular, this meant amending 17 constitutional articles related to broadening bourgeois democratic freedoms. A general amnesty for political prisoners was declared in April 1977, and a law which increased the participation of some parties in parliamentary elections was passed in May 1978. For the first time, this allowed the registration of the Mexican Communist Party, although its institutionalization was based on garnering no less than 1.5 percent of the electoral vote. The bourgeois conservative circles violently opposed these measures and tried to increase the pressure applied on the government by the extreme-right political organizations, the National Action Party in particular, which attacked the PRI. Profascist groups were energized.

Although acknowledging the positive nature of some of the changes, the leftist forces, the communist party above all, struggled for their radicalizing. They demanded a democratization of domestic political life, the solution of social problems, and counteraction to foreign penetration. It was pointed out at the March 1981 19th Mexican Communist Party Congress, that a trend toward unity among the toiling masses and revolutionary and democratic organizations had become apparent and that under these circumstances, the communist party should pursue a policy of creating broad political alliances aimed, above all, at rallying the working class around its party and the trade unions and promoting joint actions with all working people and the broad popular masses. The congress' document emphasized that such alliances must be established on a long-term basis and be aimed at changing the ratio of forces, and achieving the extensive democratization and revolutionary changes in society. On the basis of its analysis of the situation developing in the country, the MCP [Mexican Communist Party] formulated a program of struggle for the democratic renovation of the country's political and socioeconomic life and the creation of a coalition of all leftist and democratic forces opposing domestic and foreign monopolies.

The communists entered the July 1979 parliamentary elections jointly with progressive organizations such as the Socialist Unity and Action Movement, the Revolutionary Socialist Party and the Mexican People's Party. The coalition, led by the MCP, won an impressive victory, garnering 705,000 votes or 5.4 percent of the total. The MCP gained 18 parliamentary seats, nine of which went to the leftist coalition parties. This trend continued to develop, going beyond the framework of the joint electoral campaign. At its October 1981 20th congress, the MCP passed a resolution on merging the communist party with the other leftist political organizations with a view to creating a mass revolutionary party of the Mexican working people. The congress' resolution noted that the unification of left-wing political parties is dictated by the need to develop further the struggle for progressive change waged by the broad people's masses. It emphasized that the new mass workers party of the Mexican working people will fight for changing the country's political system and for deep democratic and antimonopoly changes with the prospect of a socialist revolution.

The national unification meeting of the five left-wing parties was held in November 1981. It was attended by the MCP, the Mexican People's Party, the Movement for Socialist Unity and Action, the Revolutionary Socialist Party and the People's Movement Action (the Mexican Working People's Party refused to participate -- the author). They decided to merge into a new leftist political organization -- the United Socialist Party of Mexico (USPM). The draft programmatic documents of the USPM, which were submitted to the March 1982 constituent congress of the new party, described it as the revolutionary party of the proletariat, guided by the theory of scientific socialism.

The growth of the Mexican working class led to the widening and energizing of its struggle in recent years. Priority was given to organizing trade unions independent of the progovernment Confederation of Mexican Working People (CMT), which would truly defend the interests of the working people. Influential democratic movements and groups within the trade union of electricians, and the national trade unions of ore miners and metallurgical, railroad and automobile workers developed between 1972 and 1976. By 1975, after a stubborn struggle, the workers were able to leave the progovernment trade unions and to establish new trade union associations supporting class positions.

A qualitatively new stage took place in the course of trade union democratization toward the end of the 1970s: the democratic movement within the progovernment unions, the USPM above all, became noticeably strengthened and energized, and its contacts with the independent worker unions broadened. The movement for unity among the independent trade unions increased as well, on the basis of a joint program for struggle. Two large unions -- of electrical and telephone workers -- signed a mutual aid pact in January 1978.

The drafting of a political platform for the trade union movement is assuming particular importance because of the increasing role of the working class and its mass organizations and the trend toward a renovated trade union structure on a democratic basis. The Mexican communists proceed from the fact that, as was pointed out at the 1975 conference of communist parties of Latin American and Caribbean countries, "the trade union movement is an important element in the structure of forces fighting for the national and social liberation of the

Latin American countries." This is the base of MCP policy on the "unification of democratic, anti-imperialist and socialist forces in a broad coalition aimed at instituting a system of political freedom, eliminating the dependence on imperialism and creating conditions which would enable Mexico to take the path leading to socialism."² At its 18th May 1977 congress, having analyzed the process of democratization and politicization of the trade unions, the MCP set the communists the task of working in all trade union organizations without exception, regardless of their political or ideological direction, guided by the MCP program of struggle for socioeconomic changes and the democratic renovation of the country.

For an Independent Foreign Policy

Mexican foreign policy is determined by a variety of factors, such as the country's geographic location, its economic structure and economic development needs, the deployment of political forces, history and existing foreign policy doctrines and traditions. The proximity of and economic dependence on the United States are of the greatest importance and substantially influence Mexico's foreign policy orientation.

However, the historical lessons learned from the American expansion, the economic, trade and other conflicts with the neighbor to the north, the anti-U.S. feelings in the country, which date back to the 1910-1917 revolution, the fast growth of the economic potential, which is triggering in the Mexican bourgeoisie related to the development of the country's state sector, the desire to speak with its own voice in the international arena and even to achieve a certain leadership among the developing countries, determine Mexico's aspiration to pursue an independent course in international affairs, to counter American imperialism and to develop relations with a wide range of countries.

Under the influence of the intensified social differentiation in the country in recent years, the class and political polarization in Mexican society, the influence of the strengthened positions of the big monopoly bourgeoisie and the increased economic role of the bourgeois state, Mexican foreign policy is becoming a target of the class struggle between the forces of reaction and democracy, on the one hand, and an arena for the struggle among the various bourgeois groups, on the other. This is reflected in the formulation of the approach of the Mexican state to the most important problems of our time.

The financial-industrial oligarchic circles, which are closely linked with foreign capital, are trying to strengthen the political and economic alliance with American imperialism. Dissatisfied with holding economic power only, and removed from having a direct influence on the formulation of the country's foreign policy, they are demanding greater participation in making the most important decisions for which the ruling state-party bloc bears the main responsibility. In their efforts to force Mexican foreign policy to take a reactionary foreign policy stance, the financial-industrial oligarchy is increasingly opposing the constructive and peace-loving steps which the state is taking in the international arena.

The official Mexican foreign policy doctrine is based on active promotion of the principles of respect for sovereignty and independence, noninterference in

the domestic affairs of other countries, rejection of the use of force in resolving international disputes and respect for the territorial integrity of other countries and for their right to chose their own way of development. These are the principles governing the Mexican position on specific international problems, particularly in the case of neighboring countries in the Latin American Continent, considering attempts to justify any direct or indirect interference a very dangerous precedent. However, the class nature of its policy is manifested in its frequently formal interpretation of these international principles. Let us also add that official Mexican diplomacy, like that of many other developing countries, supports the concept of "bipolarity" and the "struggle between the two superpowers for spheres of influence." Nor does it shy from adopting a purely pragmatic approach to a number of problems or trying to exploit conflicts between the two socioeconomic systems and the rivalry among imperialist states, above all in the pursuit of its commercial and economic interests.

Influential Mexican bourgeois circles linked with the state sector, including the big bourgeoisie, favor a more active and flexible international policy oriented toward the search for new markets for raw materials and industrial products and the creation of favorable nondiscriminatory situation for international economic cooperation; they oppose the domination of foreign corporations, multinational above all. They favor the strengthened role of the state which they consider an important instrument in the protection of their interests in the international arena.

Not last in Mexico's foreign policy is the slogan of Latin American solidarity which the country actively uses in counteracting the expansion of American imperialism. The 1970s were marked by increased positive trends in the country's foreign policy course, the formulation of its own initiatives in the UN and other international organizations and the diversification of economic and other relations by expanding and intensifying relations with Western Europe, Canada and Japan. To a certain extent this helped to reduce its one-sided dependence on the United States.

Relations with the United States have developed unevenly, marked by further aggravation of contradictions. Although at the start of the 1970s the two governments issued a declaration on "equal partnership" and "special relations," tension between them grew. The United States reacted with hostility to the passing of national legislation by Mexico, which regulated the activities of foreign monopolies and its motion on the adoption of a "Charter of Economic Rights and Obligations of States." The Mexican government sharply reacted to the trade discrimination measures against Mexico introduced by President Nixon, and the protectionist laws passed by the U.S. Congress in 1974, aimed at obstructing the marketing of traditional Mexican exports.

The American ruling circles began to pay increasing attention to relations with Mexico as of the mid-1970s. The main reason was the petroleum deposits discovered in the country, the importance of which to the United States increased with the aggravation of the energy crisis, the Iranian revolution and the increased instability in the Near and Middle East. In President Carter's "Presidential Memorandum No 41" of November 1978, Mexico was referred to as the most promising source of petroleum in the 1980s.

The United States is equally interested in the purchase of Mexican natural gas.

In turn, playing its oil and gas trump, Mexico is trying to settle to its advantage problems of trade and emigration existing between the two countries. The latter became quite aggravated during that period. Concerned with growing unemployment within the United States, the American authorities reduced by on-half the annual immigration quota for Mexican citizens, strengthened control over illegal border crossing, threatened illegal immigrants with deportation and thought of stringing barbed wire along the entire border. Repeated high-level talks have been held on such problems in recent years. The first postwar trade agreement between the two countries was concluded in December 1977. It eased somewhat the access of Mexican goods to the U.S. market. Talks were held between 1977 and 1979 on the sale of Mexican natural gas to the United States. The American side was forced to agree to the purchase price close to the one Mexico demanded.

As a whole, by the end of the Carter administration relations between Mexico and the United States were cool. Both governments maintained the appearance of good neighborly relations and declared their desire to maintain close ties. This, however, concealed unresolved problems, primarily in trade relations.

The arrival of a new administration in the White House did not help to improve the atmosphere of Mexican-American relations. Political differences caused by the diametrically opposed approaches of the U.S. and Mexican governments to the situation in Central America worsened. The Mexican president repeatedly spoke out against White House support of the Salvadorean junta and its aggressive actions in the Caribbean. Mexico was one the first to recognize the Sandinista government in Nicaragua. It warned Washington that any type of military action mounted against that country would be a "gravest historical error." Mexico has displayed its solidarity with the Salvadorean revolutionary movement. At the 11th OAS meeting, which took place on St. Lucia, it opposed efforts to impose on that country the staging of "elections" in a civil war situation.

The joint Franco-Mexican declaration, which was adopted in the summer of 1981, was an important event in Mexico's foreign policy. The two countries announced their recognition of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front and the Revolutionary Democratic Front in El Salvador as a representative political force.

A characteristic feature of Mexico's Latin American policy is the particular attention paid to the development of relations with these countries and the desire to assist their economic, political and cultural integration.

At the beginning of the 1970s, Mexico found itself somewhat isolated from the integration processes which were being initiated in Latin America. Its geographic location prevented it from joining regional organizations such as the Andean Pact or the La Plata Group. This was one of the reasons for which Mexico formulated its own integration initiative. In 1974, President Echeverria and Venezuelan President A. Perez proposed that a strictly Latin American organization, which would exclude the United States, be established.

This was accomplished the following year. Twenty-five countries (including Cuba) joined, and the group was named the Latin American Economic System (LAES). Mexico also persisted in its efforts to establish cooperation with the Andean Pact, as a result of which it was granted observer status. Mexico is also a member of many sectorial associations of Central American and Caribbean countries, the so-called "anticartel raw material producers."

Mexico has substantially assisted the efforts of many Latin American countries to reorganize the OAS. It supported the suggestion which the Chilean Popular Unity government formulated at the start of the 1970s for a radical change in the OAS structure and fundamental principles. In 1975 it actively supported the adoption of an OAS resolution on the revocation of anti-Cuban sanctions and promoted within the organization the principle of "ideological pluralism," which is a variety of the idea of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems. The concept of Latin Americanism formulated by Mexican diplomacy includes the creation of an alliance among all Latin American countries, excluding U.S. participation, for which reason it is anti-imperialistic and consistent with the national interests of the Latin American nations.

Mexico maintains good relations with Latin American countries ruled by progressive regimes, such as the Popular Unity government in Chile. After the assassination of President Allende and the seizure of power by the fascist Pinochet regime, Mexico initially stopped and, in November 1974, broke diplomatic relations with that country. It became one of the centers of the democratic Chilean emigration and has set up a Committee for Solidarity With the Struggle of the Chilean People. The Mexican public sharply condemned the recent Pinochet farce of adopting a "constitution" and assuming the position of president. Mexican officials have stated that their country has no intention of resuming diplomatic relations with the fascist regime.

Echeverria visited Ecuador, Peru, Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Venezuela and Jamaica in 1974. Mexico strongly supported the struggle of the Panamanian people, headed by the now deceased General Torrijos, for regaining sovereignty over the Panama Canal and is supporting Panamanian demands for strict U.S. adherence to the spirit and the letter of the 1977 Panama Canal Treaty.

Mexico opposed U.S. efforts to organize a multilateral intervention in Nicaragua. It supports the thesis that the assumption of power by the Sandinistas is a manifestation of the sovereign will of the Nicaraguan people and that any interference in the domestic affairs of that country is inadmissible. In the aftermath of the victory of the revolution, Mexico gave Nicaragua financial aid and maintained foreign policy contacts.

Mexican-Cuban ties reached a new level during the 1970s. Mexico was the only Latin American country to reject the U.S.-imposed OAS resolution on breaking diplomatic and other relations with Cuba. E. Rabas, the Mexican minister of foreign affairs, visited Havana in March 1974, while President Echeverria paid a state visit to Cuba in August 1975. Talks were held with F. Castro and other Cuban leaders and documents on economic, technical and cultural cooperation and deliveries of Cuban nickel to Mexico were initialled. Problems of cooperation in fishing and deliveries of Mexican petroleum to Cuba were

considered. Relations between the two countries developed further under President Lopez Portillo. Delegations of different kinds and various levels are being exchanged. Regular political consultations are held between the two countries. Trade between them is expanding and a mixed commission on bilateral economic cooperation has been created. The two countries are cooperating in the sugar, chemical and food industries, transportation and communications. Mexico condemned the landing of U.S. marines at the American Guantanamo Base, which is on Cuban territory, in the autumn of 1979, and the fierce anti-Cuban campaign which was mounted by the United States and a number of Latin American countries when antisocial elements left Cuba in the spring of 1980. It was precisely then, far ahead of already agreed upon protocol dates, that Lopez Portillo announced his forthcoming visit to Cuba, which took place in July-August 1980. This was preceded by F. Castro's state visit to Mexico in May 1979 and his talks with Portillo on Mexico's Cozumel Island. A joint communique which reflected coinciding or similar views held by the two countries on a number of international problems and expressed their solidarity with the struggle against imperialism and resolve to develop multilateral contacts between them was issued as a result of the talk with the Mexican president in Havana. In addressing a Cuban-Mexican friendship meeting on Revolution Square, F. Castro, first secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba Central Committee, State Council chairman and chairman of the Council of Ministers, said that, "The objective of both countries is the maximal development of economic relations and cooperation."⁴ In 1981 F. Castro reciprocated with a state visit to Mexico, thus confirming the successful development of relations between the two countries.

Mexico was one of the initiators of the Treaty on Banning Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (the Tlatelolco Treaty), which was enacted in 1969. This accord remains the only international document which grants nuclear-free zone status to a vast and populous area on earth. Mexico acted constructively at the special UN General Assembly disarmament sessions and at the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva. It supported the conclusion of the SALT II Treaty between the USSR and the United States and condemned the freezing of its ratification by the ruling U.S. circles. In his speech to the 35th UN General Assembly, J. Castaneda, Mexico's foreign affairs minister, referred to the idea of nuclear war admissibility as "absurd and dangerous."

Mexico has energized its role in the nonaligned movement in which it holds observer status. Bilateral relations between it and member-countries have strengthened.

In assuming his duties, Miguel De la Madrid Hurtado, who was elected president as a result of the usual victory of the PRI at the July 1982 presidential elections, emphasized that in the international arena Mexico will continue to defend the rights of nations to self-determination and national sovereignty and oppose interference in the internal affairs of other countries.

Mexico's relations with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states have been developing successfully.

The first state visit by a Mexican president to Moscow in the history of relations between the two countries took place in April 1973. A joint

communique was issued during the visit and a trade agreement, a protocol on creating a mixed Soviet-Mexican trade commission and other documents were initialed. A mixed cultural and scientific exchange commission was also set up. An important outcome of the talks was an agreement to hold consultations on problems of reciprocal interest.⁵ While in Moscow, the Mexican delegation discussed with the CEMA Secretariat possible cooperation with that organization. In assessing the results of his trip, President Echeverria said that "In the next few years relations between Mexico and the Soviet Union will be developed considerably in the interest of both countries."⁶ A Soviet-Mexican intergovernmental agreement on scientific and technical cooperation was concluded in August 1975, and an agreement on air travel was initialed in May 1976. A contract for assembling in Mexico Soviet-made tractors sold to that country was signed between the Traktoroeksport All-Union Association and the Mexican state-owned Siderurgica Nacional (SIDENA) Company. The same year the project was set up in Sangun. Currently the USSR is also exporting to Mexico petroleum turbodrills, textile equipment and metal-cutting machine tools.

Mexican President Lopez Portillo paid a state visit to the USSR on 17-25 May 1978. The successful development of relations after the previous Soviet-Mexican summit was noted during the talks. Both sides noted with satisfaction that more intergovernmental and other agreements had been initialed between Mexico and the USSR in 1976-1977 than during the entire postwar period. The task was set of ensuring the broader practical implementation of previous agreements, and the similarity in the approach of both countries to most important international problems was confirmed. Mexico announced its support of the Soviet disarmament initiatives and its satisfaction with the Soviet decision to initial an additional protocol to the Tlatelolco Treaty, with which, as a nuclear power, it assumed the obligation to honor the nuclear-free status of Latin America, with the stipulation that the other nuclear powers would observe it equally and that the signatories to the treaty would ensure the truly nuclear-free status of the area. Both sides confirmed their intention to energize trade-economic and scientific and technical relations. In this sense the signing of the program for scientific and technical cooperation in 1978-1983 was an important event. A delegation from the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry visited Mexico in 1979.

Soviet-Mexican cultural contacts developed noticeably. They were given a new impetus with the visit to Mexico of a Soviet delegation headed by P. N. Demichev, CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member and USSR minister of culture, in the spring of 1980. The delegation was received by J. Lopez Portillo. A USSR exhibit on "Peace, Cooperation and Progress" was held in Mexico City in March 1981. Its opening was attended by a Soviet government delegation headed by I. I. Bodyul, USSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman. The May 1981 Moscow visit by J. Castaneda, Mexican minister of foreign affairs, reasserted the successful development of Soviet-Mexican relations. Castaneda was received by N. A. Tikhonov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR Council of Ministers chairman, and held talks with A. A. Gromyko, CPSU Central Committee member and USSR minister of foreign affairs. Both sides noted with satisfaction the spirit of friendship and mutual understanding characteristic of Soviet-Mexican relations, the broadening of trade and economic cooperation and scientific and technical relations and parliamentary exchanges, and agreed on their further development.

Interviewed by an APN commentator, J. Castaneda, Mexican foreign affairs minister, emphasized in describing relations between Mexico and the USSR that "They can be best described in a single word: Cooperation. The relations are firm and very promising."⁸ The Soviet Union as well works for the growing development of relations with Mexico to become more comprehensive and durable.

Relations between Mexico and the other socialist countries, the GDR above all, as clearly proved by the recent visit which E. Honecker paid to Mexico, and ✓ Romania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia are also successfully developing as well. A cooperation agreement was initialed between Mexico and CEMA in 1975, and a mixed CEMA-Mexican commission was set up. During his trip to Moscow, President Portillo addressed a CEMA executive session, reasserting his country's interest in developing cooperation with the organization's members.

The 1970s, therefore, were an important landmark in Mexican history. The discovery of huge petroleum and natural gas reserves in the country provided favorable conditions for accelerated economic development. However, the dependent nature of the Mexican economy and its structural weakness have not allowed the realization of these opportunities, and the country was hit by a serious financial and economic crisis at the beginning of the 1980s. The country's domestic political life was significantly energized, and the role of the democratic movement in it was enhanced. Mexico began to participate more actively in resolving problems of international peace and security and its international reputation was enhanced. Its cooperation with the USSR and the other socialist countries developed.

Additional Reading

Books:

Lapshev, Ye. G. "Meksika: Bor'ba za Nezavisimost' i Natsional'nyy Progress" [Mexico: Struggle for Independence and National Progress]. Moscow, 1977; "Kul'tura Meksiki" [Mexican Culture]. Moscow, 1980. Bassol', Batal'ya A. "Ekonomicheskaya Geografiya Meksiki" [Economic Geography of Mexico]. Moscow, 1981; "Sovetsko-Meksikanskiye Otnosheniya 1968-1980" [Soviet-Mexican Relations 1968-1980]. Moscow, 1981.

Journal Articles:

Andreyeva, Yu. I. "Problems of Mexican Development and the Struggle of the Proletariat." LATINSKAYA AMERIKA, No 11, 1982; Garibashvili, K. D. "Some Features of Mexican Political Structure." LATINSKAYA AMERIKA, No 11, 1982; Lapshev, Ye. G. "Ideological Foundations of Foreign Policy." LATINSKAYA AMERIKA, No 11, 1982.

FOOTNOTES

1. COMERCIO EXTERIOR, 1976. Supplement, p 32. See also LATINSKAYA AMERIKA, No 2, 1977, p 32.
2. PRAVDA, 1 March 1976.

3. OPOSICION, 15 March 1981.
4. GRANMA, 4 August 1980.
5. PRAVDA, 17 April 1973.
6. LATINSKAYA AMERIKA, No 5, 1973, p 103.
7. PRAVDA, 26 May 1981.
8. MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, 7 February 1982.

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[For the texts of the cited articles by Andreyeva, Garibashvili and Lapshev, see the USSR REPORT: POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS No 1374--SELECTIONS FROM SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY JOURNALS, JPRS 82951, 25 February 1983, pp 89-113]

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CSO: 1807/237

BOOK ON HISTORY OF WEST EUROPEAN ANTIWAR MOVEMENT REVIEWED

Moscow NOVAYA I NOVEYSHAYA ISTORIYA in Russian No 2, Mar-Apr 83 pp 189-191

[Review by Z. P. Yakhimovich of the book "Istoriya Antivoyennogo Dvizheniya v Kapitalisticheskikh Stranakh Yevropy (1945-1976)" [History of the Antiwar Movement in the European Capitalist Countries (1945-1976)] by I. I. Zhigalov, S. A. Pokrovskaya (deceased), A. B. Chernov, B. R. Lopukhov, N. D. Smirnova, V. K. Kuchinskaya, V. G. Ovchinnikov, O. V. Chernysheva, L. A. Ingul'skaya, Yu. V. Kudrina and Z. Ya. Mirskiy (deceased). Edited by I. I. Zhigalov (responsible editor), Z. Ya. Mirskiy and N. D. Smirnova. Izdatel'stvo Nauka, Moscow, 1981, 406 pages]

[Text] This collective work by scientists at the USSR Academy of Sciences General History Institute, discusses the antiwar movement in the European capitalist countries, an area which has become the epicenter of the confrontation between proponents and opponents of peace and detente by virtue of a variety of factors and international, historical and political circumstances.

The study covers the period from the end of World War II to the middle of the 1970s and, including problems discussed in the concluding chapter written by Z. Ya. Mirskiy, to the end of the 1970s. The authors trace the development of the antiwar movement in individual countries and entire areas and its milestones and stages, from its inception and organizational development under cold war conditions to the establishment of political detente in the 1970s, the struggle for its consolidation and expansion through military detente, and against efforts to return to the power methods of the cold war.

As a whole, the structure of the monograph is successful. The formulation of general questions in the introduction and the summary final chapter are combined with the chronological sequential presentation of specific data on the development of the antiwar movement in the leading Western European countries -- Great Britain, France, the FRG and Italy -- in Northern Europe and in a number of small countries.

The authors have resolved the arduous task of narrating the integral history of the antiwar movement and the description of its characteristic features and national specifics in the individual countries, on the basis of the achievements of Soviet and foreign progressive historiography and the use of a considerable number of sources, including valuable data from periodicals and articles published by antiwar organizations and movements, documents of

congresses and periodicals of communist, socialist and social democratic parties and trade union organizations, etc. In a few chapters they have been unable to prevent a certain fragmentation and generality in their presentation; the proper proportions between the clarification of the problems of the antiwar movement and the political history of a given country and its foreign policy have not been always observed. Nevertheless, the reader is offered an impressive picture of the activities and struggles waged on a broad front by peace-loving forces in the antiwar movement: counteraction to the arms race, militarization and "bloc" policies, persistent struggle in favor of banning mass destruction weapons and efforts -- paralleling foreign policy efforts pursued along this line by the USSR and the other members of the socialist comity -- aimed at asserting peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems and reaching a peaceful solution of international conflicts triggered by the actions of imperialist circles.

The authors have closely studied the various forms of struggle developed through the creative efforts of the supporters of peace, such as the Aldermaston marches in Great Britain, the "Easter Peace Marches" in the FRG, the Marathon peace marches in Greece, the national referenda, the gathering of signatures under the first and second Stockholm appeals, demonstrations and meetings, sit-ins and collection of funds for peace, longshoremen strikes, antiwar protests in the armed forces, and many others. The national nature of such movements and their appearance on the national grounds of individual countries as a result of the actions of patriotic forces opposing the subordination of the foreign policies of Western European countries to the "Atlantic" course, fraught with dependence on the United States and NATO, and the efforts to lift from their own nations and the world at large the threat of a new world war are clearly described. These facts refute the old and frequently reiterated claims of their opponents about the "hand of Moscow" and the antipatriotic and unconstitutional nature of the activities of the supporters of peace and parties and organizations actively working within it.

The antiwar movement is discussed in the broad context of the development of international relations and the confrontation between the two social systems in the world arena and the complex interaction between it and the anti-imperialist and anticolonial struggle and the reaction to it in Western European countries. The chapters on the antiwar movement in Great Britain, France, Belgium and other countries expatiate on acts of solidarity with nations fighting imperialist aggression and colonial oppression. Extensive factual data are used to describe the substantial resources and possibilities of the opponents of detente, against which the antiwar forces must wage a tense struggle. This applies, above all, to conservative and neo-Nazi parties and organizations and representatives of the military-industrial complex and militaristic circles and centrist parties and movements following in the fairway of NATO's "bloc" policy and openly militaristic "Atlantic" forces. Several chapters, particularly those on the antiwar movements in Great Britain (I. I. Zhigalov), France (S. A. Pokrovskaya), Italy (B. R. Lopukhov), the FRG (A. B. Chernov), Greece (N. D. Smirnova), Austria (V. K. Kuchinskaya), Sweden (O. V. Chernysheva) and Finland (L. A. Ingul'skaya), comprehensively show the direct interconnection between the scale of the antiwar movement and the activeness of democratic parties and organizations, the level of political democracy in a given country and the strength of democratic traditions. As

the authors prove, the antiwar movement, while actively influencing the foreign policies of the individual governments, is also performing an important general democratic function by helping to strengthen political democracy and civil freedoms and the removal from power of reactionary regimes and right-wing conservative forces.

The coordination within the antiwar movement of the actions of ideologically and politically disparate organizations, parties and currents and drafting a positive platform for action by the supporters of peace despite the rather broad social structure of its participants are among its most difficult problems. The description of the important contribution of the communist parties in the struggle for peace, their active participation in the formulation of a constructive program for the movement and the organic interconnection between the struggle for peace and for social progress runs through the entire work.

The communists' search for a most effective strategy in the struggle for peace and for resolving the most urgent problem of creating a broad alliance of peace-loving forces, including ensuring the unity of the working class and surmounting the negative consequences of "Atlantic" of right-wing currents within the social democratic movement and the trade unions, and the joint actions taken for the sake of peace, involving the Roman Catholic masses and the religious organizations, are described at length (particularly interesting data on such subjects are found in Chapters I, III and IV). The work describes in detail the process of involving increasingly broad working class masses in the antiwar movement, the difficulties and successes achieved along this way in the 1950s-1970s, and the major shifts in the positions held by social democratic parties and trade unions. In our view, the contribution of the workers movement as a whole, as an important factor in social progress, which determined radical political changes in the life of several Western European countries, should have been emphasized more strongly.

The active influence of the antiwar forces on the consciousness of the broad public circles and their contribution to the criticism and exposure of the support of war and armaments inherent in the foes of detente and peaceful coexistence and the role played in such efforts by the outstanding personalities in the antiwar movement and the research centers established by the peace organizations and movements, which are important aspects of the struggle for peace, have been described in a very interesting and meaningful fashion. The sharp ideological confrontation on problems of war and peace in Western Europe and the different approaches taken to such problems within the antiwar movement itself are depicted.

The study of the programmatic documents of the antiwar movement included in the monograph confirm the presence within it of a broad range of political and ideological currents, such as pacifism, with its condemnation of wars as such and emphasis on moral means for the assertion of peace, and the various shades of neutralism, which has become widespread in the political and social circles of some Western European countries and become the base of official foreign policy (Austria, Sweden, Switzerland, and others). In this movement the communists hold a militant internationalist position. These are pertinent reasons for speaking of the complex nature of the antiwar movement which combines

universal, democratic and, to the extent to which the working class plays its independent role within the movement, class features. However, as the authors justifiably point out, the objectively anti-imperialist line followed in the struggle for peace is rarely subjectively realized by its participants. This causes certain difficulties in the development of the antiwar movement.

In our view, the monograph's structure aptly combines the formulation of general problems, as in the introduction and the concluding chapter, with specific data (in chronological sequence), based on the geographic location of the main Western European countries: Great Britain, France, the FRG, Italy, Northern Europe and several small countries (Chapter V).

The historiographic sections in the work are very valuable, albeit uneven, ranging from the study of ideological currents and trends in foreign historiography of the antiwar movement in individual countries to bibliographic indexes and short references to Soviet and foreign works.

Unfortunately, the contemporary stage in the antimissile and antinuclear movements, which started in 1979, and which proved the unparalleled popularity and scale of the antiwar movement, its activeness and its tremendous social impact, is not covered in detail because of the chronological and fully justified time limit placed by the authors (ending before the signing of the Helsinki Accords, which became an important stage in the development of the struggle for detente).

Such isolated remarks do not detract from the overall positive assessment of the monograph which is of unquestionable major scientific and political significance.

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DIPLOMATIC ACADEMY, JOURNAL HOLD CONFERENCE ON FOREIGN POLICY

Moscow NOVAYA I NOVEYSHAYA ISTORIYA in Russian No 2, Mar-Apr 83 pp 211-212

[Report: "Joint Conference Held by USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Diplomatic Academy and the Editors of the Journal NOVAYA I NOVEYSHAYA ISTORIYA"]

[Text] A joint scientific conference on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR on "The Soviet Union in the Struggle for Peace and Security of the Nations" was held by the USSR MID [Ministry of Foreign Affairs] Diplomatic Academy and the editors of NOVAYA I NOVEYSHAYA ISTORIYA on 29 October 1982.

The conference was opened by Academician S. L. Tikhvinskiy, academic secretary of the USSR Academy of Sciences History Department and Diplomatic Academy rector.¹ A. P. Shitikov, CPSU Central Committee member and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Council of the Union, spoke on "The Permanent International Significance of the Founding of the USSR."²

An. A. Gromyko, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member and director of the Africa Institute, spoke on "Experience in Resolving the National Problem in the USSR and the Afro-Asian World." He noted that the Soviet Union with its more than 100 nations and nationalities has set a clear example to the world on how to resolve the national problem. The national problem, he emphasized, urgently faces many developing countries in Asia and Africa, which include dozens and even hundreds of nationalities and tribes, for many historical and socioeconomic reasons. The unsolved national problem, which is social in nature, is having a significant impact on the domestic political stability and further development of such countries. The example of fraternal friendship set by the peoples of the USSR, who are successfully building communism, stands out particularly impressively against the background of such extremely painful and tragic situations facing these nations, for the Soviet way in resolving the national problem offers scientific substantiation and practically tried guidelines which help the different countries, with their specific circumstances, to find proper solutions to complex ethnosocial problems. This justifies today the prediction made by V. I. Lenin, the founder of the Soviet state, to the effect that "The example of the socialist Soviet Republic in Russia will provide a living model to the peoples of all countries, and that the propaganda and revolutionizing effect of this example will be gigantic."³

Yu. S. Shirayev, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member and director of the International Institute of Economic Problems of the World Socialist System, spoke on "The Role of the Historical Experience of the USSR in Shaping International Economic Relations of a New Type." He noted that the permanent historical significance of the founding and development of the USSR was clearly manifested in the establishment of international relations of a new type, which developed first in the socialist comity. These relations are exerting an increasingly active influence on the system of worldwide relations by helping to reorganize its socioeconomic structure and the democratization of intergovernmental relations, and strengthening progressive trends in the development of global economic ties. The development of CEMA-member countries for more than 3 decades clearly proves the triumph of the principles of socialist internationalism, which determine relations among fraternal nations within the socialist comity and their ruling Marxist-Leninist parties. The unity and cohesion of the socialist comity are the most important prerequisite for their successful progress in building a new society.

The speaker also discussed the advantages of the process of socialist internationalization of economic life and achievements in socialist economic integration.

Dr of Historical Sciences G. A. Vorontsov, Diplomatic Academy prorector, spoke on "The Soviet Union in the Vanguard of the Struggle for Political and Military Detente in Europe: Historical Experience and Contemporaneity." Postwar experience, he said, convincingly proves that the highest level of European security can be reached under conditions of detente. This, precisely, is the course which the Soviet Union intends to pursue consistently. It is based on limiting and reducing the nuclear arms race in Europe. This is the path which must be followed in lowering the level of the current rough military parity which exists between the USSR and the United States, and between the Warsaw Pact and NATO, and leads to lowering the current level of armaments. Another aspect of European security is related to the development of economic cooperation, which is a natural consequence of the international division of labor and has old historical roots and traditions in Europe. The USSR, the speaker emphasized, is firmly following the course of stabilization and further development of mutually profitable economic, trade, scientific and technical, cultural and other relations between the two parts of Europe. In systematically struggling for strengthening security on the continent, the USSR and its allies are ready to cooperate with Western forces and circles which favor peace, disarmament and development of trade among nations.

Candidate of Historical Sciences K. I. Savinov, Diplomatic Academy prorector, spoke on "The Soviet Union and the Socialist Countries. Strengthening Fraternal Friendship and Cooperation." In the socialist comity, the speaker said, the ruling Marxist-Leninist parties play a decisive role in shaping international relations of a new type. The success of their common cause depends on their ability to combine correctly and fully the national interests of their own people with those of the entire socialist comity. Historical experience proves that loyalty to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, socialist internationalism, and close interaction among the ruling Marxist-Leninist parties helps properly to combine the common with the national interests of the socialist states, to resolve successfully the contradictions

which arise in the course of their development, and the confident progress of the individual country and the socialist comity as a whole. CEMA and the Warsaw Pact reliably serve this cause.

Dr of Historical Sciences G. L. Rozanov, head of the Chair of Historical-Diplomatic Sciences of the Diplomatic Academy, presented a paper on "The Peace Program for the 1980s Is the Organic Extension and Development of Leninist Foreign Policy." The program covers a broad range of problems, such as the manner in which nuclear missile and conventional weapons affect the situation in Europe and the Near, Middle and Far East, and measures of a political and military nature. Their main unifying factor is the aspiration to resolve the most urgent and relevant problems of today's world politics, to strengthen peace and to eliminate the threat of nuclear catastrophe. The power of the foreign policy program of the 26th congress lies in the fact that it is based on the objective processes of social development and the real ratio of world forces and proceeds from the Marxist-Leninist analysis of the present. The Peace Program is characterized by its timeliness and consistency with the requirements stemming from the world situation. The set of proposals formulated at the 26th CPSU Congress and their tonality and constructive nature create an effective counterbalance to the plans of the aggressive imperialist circles and confusion in the camp of aggressive forces, while all peace-loving circles and realistically thinking leaders are relieved when they think of the fate of the world.

Dr of Historical Sciences I. D. Ostoya-Ovsyannyy, Diplomatic Academy professor, spoke on "The Foreign Policy Activities of the USSR and the Soviet State -- a Powerful Factor of Peace and Social Progress." The speaker described in detail the stages of development of Soviet foreign policy and noted that the peace-asserting activities of the Soviet Union today are of particular importance to the fate of mankind. The world entered the 1980s in an alarming situation. Imperialist aggressiveness has increased drastically. It is on the basis of this important level reached in global developments that the 26th CPSU Congress included in the Peace Program a firm and principle-minded course aimed at strengthening the positions of world socialism, support of nations struggling for their freedom and independence, consolidation of detente and peace, and rebuff of aggressive imperialist efforts. The powerful peace offensive mounted by the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries and the numerous new important initiatives formulated by the CPSU in the development of the Peace Program are aimed at resolving a most important problem -- preventing imperialism from deceiving the peoples and indicating the realistic and attainable nature of the task of banning nuclear weapons.

Dr of Historical Sciences A. O. Chubar'yan, head of sector at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of General History, discussed "The Leninist Strategy of Coexistence With the Capitalist Countries: Theory and Practice." He emphasized that an acute ideological struggle has been steadily waged on the history of the formulation of this Leninist principle and its practical implementation in international relations. The claims of bourgeois historians and political experts notwithstanding, the Leninist concept of peaceful coexistence was formulated and implemented not on the basis of practical circumstantial considerations but as a reflection of the strategic direction in Soviet foreign policy. The policy of peaceful coexistence is a dialectical

combination of cooperation and struggle between countries belonging to different socioeconomic systems; the struggle between the two systems is assuming the aspect of the economic competition but in the ideological and social areas. The main thing is to avoid resorting to a military solution of arising conflicts, lower the level of confrontation and prevent the outbreak of psychological warfare which encourages mistrust and is used as a means for aggravating the international situation. These are precisely the positions from which the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist comity approach peaceful coexistence, systematically working for peace and disarmament.

The conference was attended by professors, teachers and students of the USSR MID Diplomatic Academy and the USSR Academy of Sciences history institutes. An exhibit of documents on topics related to the conference, prepared by the USSR MID History-Diplomacy Administration, was displayed in the foyer of the conference hall.

FOOTNOTES

1. Text published elsewhere in this issue.
2. Idem.
3. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 35, p 250.

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SHITIKOV SPEAKS ON DEVELOPMENT OF USSR'S INTERNATIONAL ROLE

[Editorial Report] Moscow NOVAYA I NOVEYSHAYA ISTORIYA in Russian No 2, March-April 1983, publishes on pages 30-38 a 3,200-word article by A. P. Shitikov, CPSU Central Committee member and USSR Supreme Soviet of the Union chairman, entitled "The Unfading International Significance of the Fraternal Union of Soviet Republics." The article is "based on a report delivered by A. P. Shitikov to a joint scientific conference of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Diplomatic Academy and the editorial office of the journal NOVAYA I NOVEYSHAYA ISTORIYA." The article surveys the growing international influence of the USSR since its foundation, and the Soviet Union's untiring efforts for peace and international cooperation. It mentions in particular Soviet nationalities policy, the Soviet role in the Helsinki conference, CEMA and the Warsaw Pact, and Soviet disarmament proposals.

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TIKHKVINSKIY SPEAKS ON WORLD SIGNIFICANCE OF SOVIET NATIONALITIES POLICY

[Editorial Report] Moscow NOVAYA I NOVEYSHAYA ISTORIYA in Russian No 2, March-April 1983 publishes on pages 39-41 a 1,000-word report entitled "Along the Leninist Path of Struggle for Peace and Friendship among Peoples" by Academician S. L. Tikhvinskiy, USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium member, academician-secretary of the USSR Academy of Sciences History Department, chairman of the USSR National Committee of Historians, and rector of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Diplomatic Academy. The report is identified as a "speech by S. L. Tikhvinskiy at the joint scientific conference of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Diplomatic Academy and the editorial office of the journal NOVAYA I NOVEYSHAYA ISTORIYA." The report views the relations among the nationalities of the Soviet Union as an example for relations among nations in the world at large, particularly as contrasted to examples of national conflict and oppression to be seen under capitalism.

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FOREIGN MINISTRY INSTITUTE HOLDS CONFERENCE ON HISTORY OF FOREIGN POLICY

Moscow NOVAYA I NOVEYSHAYA ISTORIYA in Russian No 2, Mar-Apr 83 p 213

[Report by M. A. Perezhigin and A. V. Torkunov: "Conference at Moscow's State International Relations Institute"]

[Text] A scientific conference on "Sixty Years of USSR and Development of International Relations" was held at the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Moscow State International Relations Institute on 25-26 November 1982.

The conference was opened by Dr of Historical Sciences Prof N. I. Lebedev, USSR MGIMO MID [Ministry of Foreign Affairs Moscow State International Relations Institute] rector. Soviet foreign policy, the speaker noted, is truly scientific. That is precisely why theoretical studies of basic international problems and topical questions of foreign policy, and the scientific interpretation of the experience gained in the struggle waged by the USSR for peace, security and ensuring the right of peoples to self-determination and social progress are of such importance.

G. M. Korniyenko, CPSU Central Committee member and first deputy minister of foreign affairs, addressed the plenary session and the conference. He emphasized that the complex and varied foreign policy problems can be resolved only on the basis of the closest possible ties between science and practice. In this connection, the attention of the participants was drawn to the need for the comprehensive study of the contemporary international situation, development trends in world economics, and problems of international law and the ideological struggle.

Academician A. L. Narochitskiy, chairman of the USSR Academy of Sciences Scientific Council on USSR Foreign Policy History spoke on "Historical Experience in the Struggle Waged by the USSR for Peace and International Security." The speaker comprehensively analyzed the historical experience gained in the struggle waged by the USSR for the preservation of peace and safeguarding international security during the different periods of Soviet history, from the Decree on Peace and the founding of the USSR and the world socialist system to the systematic implementation of the Peace Program for the 1980s, formulated at the 26th CPSU Congress.

The discussions at the conference were carried out in four sections.

The historical-political section (chaired by Dr of Historical Sciences Prof V. B. Knyazhinskiy, head of the Chair of USSR International Relations, USSR MGIMO MID) focused on topical problems of the struggle waged by Soviet diplomacy for strengthening the international positions of the USSR at the most important stages in its development. Particular attention was paid to the struggle waged by Soviet diplomacy for peace and international security at the present stage and to coordinating the struggle for detente.

The papers read at the meetings of the economic section (chaired by Dr of Economic Sciences Prof V. D. Shchetinin, dean of the International Economic Relations School, USSR MGIMO MID) dealt with the development and current status of USSR foreign economic relations and the struggle for their reorganization.

The proceedings of the ideological section (chaired by Dr of Historical Sciences Prof Sh. P. Sanakoyev, first deputy editor in chief of the journal MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN') dealt with criticism of bourgeois ideology and propaganda. The speakers exposed the class nature of psychological warfare as an instrument of aggressive imperialist circles and the groundlessness of Western attacks on national relations in the USSR; they described the struggle waged by the USSR for enhancing the role of mass information media in strengthening peace and mutual international understanding.

The legal section (chaired by Dr of Juridical Sciences Prof V. I. Kozhevnikov, deserving worker in sciences and head of the Chair of International Law, USSR MGIMO MID) concentrated on topical problems of international and state law. Soviet experience in national-state construction and its international significance, particularly as applicable to the developing countries, was comprehensively analyzed.

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DISAGREEMENTS WITHIN U.S. RULING CIRCLES ON LATIN AMERICAN POLICY ISSUES

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 3, Mar 83, pp 5-21

Article by A.A. Matlina

Text The two years that the Republican administration has been in power have been marked by new failures of U.S. Latin American policy. In Central America, which the Reagan government has made into a target and a testing ground for the development of its harsh policy course, a course which is aimed at undermining the sovereignty of these countries--the liberation movement continues to develop. The continent's largest and economically most developed countries are defending their right to an independent foreign policy position with ever greater decisiveness, and this frequently goes against the interests of imperialism. Finally, the events related to the Malvinas crisis, the military conflict between Argentina and Great Britain, which was accompanied by Washington's open shift to the side of its imperialist partner and by betrayal of its Latin American ally, led to an unprecedented fall of U.S. prestige in the region. Also, foreign policy actions taken by the Reagan administration in the Western hemisphere have often become the object of relatively sharp criticism from the Western European countries, as well as from a number of other states.

The course of events has proven once again the truth that the re-organization which has taken place at the top of the political pyramid of American society as a result of the 1980 presidential elections, has not led to the resolution of the long-range problems, which have arisen from the conflicts between the USA and its southern neighbors. It is not surprising that relations with the states of this continent are being discussed in Congress and on the pages of the "major" or national press of the USA from a critical angle, and that the measures taken by the president's foreign policy team are being subjected to relentless firing from the "right" and from "the left." And although differences between certain factions in the right-wing circles are traditional in nature and accompany the development of every administration's Latin American course, they are becoming even stronger at the present time, in view of the increase in crisis phenomena in the U.S. domestic political situation and its international situation.

V.I. Lenin frequently emphasized that for the position of the Soviet state it was important to be able to "single out" the wing of the bourgeoisie

which takes moderate positions and prefers the peaceful settlement of controversial problems.¹ This observation has not lost its timeliness even in our day. The progressive forces of the present-day world are by no means indifferent to the question of what kind of orientation the bourgeois leaders and parties in power adhere to. All this applies in full measure to U.S. policy with regard to the countries of Latin America.

Criticism "from the right"

Since the 60's the formational process for Washington's Latin American policy has reflected a phenomenon of the current socio-political reality--the erosion of the so-called liberal and conservative consensus.

In the 50's and the first half of the 60's there existed a kind of alliance among the basic currents--liberal and conservative--of American bourgeois ideology; this alliance or consensus was determined by the communality of interests held by the various factions of the ruling class, but since the mid-60's this method of class rule by the American bourgeoisie has revealed its bankruptcy under the conditions of worsening socio-economic crisis. The ideology of both currents is relatively close (specifically, both the moderates and rightists share the basic traditional values--capitalism, individualism, nationalism, etc.),² but in practical politics the liberal position differs substantially from the conservative; this manifests with particular clarity, in particular, in the endless discussions in Congress, the press and the government itself on issues of Latin American policy.

Although differences between liberals and conservatives are usually linked to differences between the positions of the Democrats and the Republicans, with certain factions maintaining the prevailing position in each of the parties, the ideological currents are not identical with inter-party conflicts. In general, divergence of opinion exists not only among particular groups of the ruling circles, but also within these groups. For this reason adherents of various methods are to be found among representatives of business and the academic elite, the mass information media and the state apparatus, Congress and both political parties.

Adherents of the rightist and moderate currents hold different positions with regard to the most important present-day development problems of the continent's countries and on the issue of relations between the USA and its southern neighbors.³

The conservative approach is based on the apology of a "strong America," "harsh decisions," etc.

Undisguised self-interest, egoism and a partiality toward methods based on power are typical of the rightist concepts. The traditional metaphors of the "U.S. backyard" and "gunboat diplomacy" can clearly be seen in the latest slogans. To the extent that all revolutionary events which take place on the continent are judged to be the result of subversive activities by "international communism," anti-Cuban and anti-Nicaraguan actions, right up to armed intervention (both unilateral and multilateral), are suggested

as the main means of counteracting them. The rightist representatives around Reagan demand that he "get Cuba back" in order to "root out the evil at its source" to ensure calm conditions for the USA in Central America and the Caribbean, which it continues to consider as its own fiefdom.

The rightist position is clearly directed against any "centrist" decisions to which the liberals are inclined; certain ultraconservative figures seriously suspect the Reagan government of sharing this inclination. From the extreme rightist flank, the American Legion aims its fire against the reform program proposed by the liberals for El Salvador, calling it "socialist at the best and communist at the worst."⁴ In Congress Senator J. Helms criticized the Reagan government for supporting the "left socialist" N. Duarte, the former head of the military-civilian junta in El Salvador.⁵

The "spectre of Iran" haunts American politicians and political scientists who are adherents of the hard line. Mexico provokes particularly gloomy associations; the "Mexican factor" is playing an ever more noticeable role in Latin American strategy.⁶ The appearance of a magazine headline "Mexico. Who Follows Iran?" provides evidence that the ruling circles are worried about the fate of the petroleum reservoir close to the U.S. border and by the "physical" proximity to Mexico of Guatemalan and Salvadoran leftist groups which, "with help from Cuba and the USSR" are allegedly prepared to organize Mexico's Indian population to seize and destroy the country's petroleum industry. American residents are fed frightening pictures of an attack by the "reds" on Mexican petroleum installations, of outbursts of violence, floods of millions of emigrants, who will pour into the USA, etc.⁷ The apocalyptic visions of the rightists find fertile soil in the consciousness of the ruling class, whose strata include certain groups of the working class. Mexico's independent foreign policy also arouses dissatisfaction and concern.

The conservatives think that Washington's best allies in the Latin American countries are the rightist authoritarian governments, which are capable of ensuring stability in their countries. For this reason nostalgia for the shah of Iran and the Nicaraguan dictator Somosa is combined with suggestions for "moderate and intelligent" support of the fascist military clique in Guatemala against the "communist terrorists."

Hard-line supporters put forward the candid thesis that for U.S. interests it is preferable to have as optimal allies on the continent "poor" countries with a high proportion of illiterates and strong-arm military governments, which successfully use harsh means to ensure the desired stability (the most "convincing" example was Bolivia in the second half of the 60's, where E. Che Guevara was killed by the military clique with the participation of American instructors).⁸

Opposition inside and outside Congress

When the Republican administration entered the White House, prominent representatives of the liberal part of the establishment entered the ranks of "the former ones" (the former assistant secretary of state, the former U.S. ambassador, the former chairman of a Senate committee, etc.)

The shift to the right within the U.S. ruling circles has meant more than just the liberals being removed from the main levers for control of the state machinery. Changes in liberal thinking may be of even greater significance. There was not only an organizational but also an ideological retreat by liberalism, a definite yielding of the traditional positions in the face of the energetic onslaught of the rightists. It is clear that this demoralization of the liberal camp constituted (at first) an important reserve for the rightists.

However, this does not mean that a part of the ruling circles has rejected liberal ideas. As it becomes clear that an oppressive policy causes new difficulties without solving old problems, under conditions of unprecedented socio-economic crisis arising from "Reaganomics," and new foreign policy failures, the liberal opposition is once again acquiring confidence.

The liberal conception views the problems of Latin America from a particular angle. It has a moderately reformist nature, and it is based on the "traditional values" and "humanitarian" approaches. The liberals think that the revolutionary process in Latin America in particular is caused by internal factors, poverty, violence, lack of political rights, etc. The liberals support reformist plans and come out in favor of moderate transformations (agrarian reform, political liberalization). The liberals look for allies among the Latin American political parties and the governments of a national-reformist persuasion, declaring the need to create pluralistic political systems which are close to the bourgeois-democratic systems in the countries of developed capitalism. From this viewpoint, the most vital policy entails the strengthening of ties with Mexico, Venezuela and Costa Rica. The liberals think that democratic governments are more reliable in ensuring the long term interests of the USA than is any military dictatorship.⁹

The policy of moving closer to rightist regimes has aroused opposition in Congress and disagreement from certain representatives of university circles, as well as from a number of the mass information media.

The liberal portion of Congress actively condemned the Reagan government's decision to renew military aid to Chile, and it expressed "sincere distress at the administration's decision to revoke the sanctions applied by the U.S. government to Chile for its refusal to hand over the people involved in the Letelier murder."¹⁰

In the polemic between the moderate and the right wing the situation in El Salvador is given particular weight. Perhaps no other problem under discussion has been considered in such detail in the "highest echelons of power" or attracts so much attention from the mass media, from the legislators and representatives of the political and academic elite. The press and Congressional reports are full of reports on atrocities committed by the fascist military in El Salvador. Legislators who have visited the country cite incontrovertible evidence of genocide, which is being organized with direct U.S. support, and while warning of "serious consequences," conclude that in El Salvador the mistakes permitted in Iran and Vietnam are being

repeated: "government representatives are lying with regard to the terrorism and exploitation which the United States is supporting and paying for."¹¹

The liberals criticize the government's policy of a military solution in El Salvador, as well as the attempt to turn relations between East and West into an axis around which Washington's Latin American policy is formed: "It is amoral to use a small defenseless country... to demonstrate its hard line to Moscow... This is incorrect, and it leads us to defeat."¹²

Contrary to Washington's official judgment, the liberals characterize the right wing junta which was in power during the time of N. Duarte not as a "moderately-reformist" government, but as a "right-wing military regime with a civilian facade."¹³

The liberal plan for the solution of the problem of El Salvador includes the following: the cessation of all military aid; a peaceful settlement of problems; encouragement by Washington of multilateral negotiations, with participation by other states, including Mexico, and recognition by Washington of the Revolutionary-Democratic Front of El Salvador as a representative political power. This viewpoint is adhered to not only by liberally inclined democrats, but also by a number of leading Republican figures, and in particular Charles Percy, chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs.¹⁴

The question of linking aid to El Salvador to progress in the "humanitarian" area became acute in nature as long ago as September 1981. After bitter debates in the Senate, it was decided to include in the foreign aid bill a clause which would make it mandatory for the president to attest every six months that progress had been made in the area of human rights in a given country in order for regular renewal of appropriations to take place.¹⁵ (However, it is well known that despite Reagan's July 1982 statement about "improvement in the situation" in El Salvador, the number of people killed by the security organs and terrorist organizations in El Salvador had recently shown a sharp increase.)

The liberal interpretation of Latin American life is characterized by a greater (in comparison with the conservative current) realism.

By calling on Washington to recognize the government of Cuba, the liberals express the thought that the unsuccessful attempts--undertaken frequently over the last 20 years--to tear Cuba away from the USSR, to drive a wedge among the socialist countries "by means of threats, harsh words and harsh actions"¹⁶ have proved completely fruitless.

Even with the new wave of anti-Soviet and anti-Cuban hysteria unleashed on U.S. public opinion, "dissenting" views are expressed in Congress (although in individual cases). Congressmen T. Weiss, for example, introduced a bill to end the trade embargo and fully restore diplomatic relations between Washington and Havana. The motivation: a "policy which had outlived itself" did not destabilize the regime, nor did it change Cuba's course in the international arena. Also, the embargo harms U.S. prestige

in the developing world. The restoration of ties is also useful to the United States economically. Normalization is better than a "policy of hostile non-communicability."¹⁷

In contrast to hard-line supporters, the liberals are prepared "to reconcile themselves" to the growing independence of the Latin American countries in the world arena, something which the conservatives do not agree to at all. Liberal representatives of the political-academic complex (A. Lowenthal, for example) think that it is precisely because of their growing role in world affairs that these countries, which long ago ceased to be "banana republics," can contribute to (or hinder) the solution of the most important problems of the present-day world in a form which is desirable for Washington; specifically, they can contribute to the establishment of a new international economic order, and, consequently, their significance for the USA is growing.¹⁸

A similar tendency to recognize realities can be seen in the liberals' evaluation of the state sector's role in the Latin American countries and of the state's role in socio-economic affairs in general.

The Western European viewpoint on the conflict in El Salvador attaches great weight to the liberal opposition. The liberals have pointed out that "by ignoring the political and material support which the leftists are receiving from a broad range of noncommunist countries, including support from some of the most important allies" of the USA, the government is committing a dangerous error.¹⁹ In fact, the Atlantic allies are very cold to the idea which the Reagan administration is pushing forward, the idea of turning the conflict in Central America into a focal point of Soviet-American conflicts, and the region into an arena for East-West confrontation. None of the U.S. partners has expressed a desire to join Washington in supplying weapons to the Salvadoran military. Even Great Britain's Tory government, whose policy is very far from the social-democratic model, has not considered it possible to join the anti-Communist crusade in Latin America.

Another "trump card," which gives weight to the liberal arguments is pressure from broad public opinion in the USA. Protests against Washington's policy in Central America and against military and financial support for right-wing dictators, and expressions of solidarity with the fighting people of El Salvador have taken on a mass character in the United States. The movement is quite diverse in composition and includes nonhomogeneous social and national groups. Students, trade unions, various strata of the so-called middle class, religious organizations, pacifists, black and Indians groups are speaking out against opportunities for Salvadoran soldiers to train in the USA, against attempts to destabilize Nicaragua and Cuba, and they are defending the right of the people of El Salvador to self determination.

There are committees of solidarity with El Salvador. Mass demonstrations are being organized against the continuation of military aid. One of the main critics of the Reagan government is the Catholic Church, which demands that the government stop military aid to El Salvador and

facilitate a political settlement on a broad basis. The Protestant hierarchy, which is supported by the faithful of the church, joins with the Catholics in demonstrating a high level of activity in this regard.

The need to take the voters' opinions into account frequently influences the opposition in Congress, if only verbally. Legislators refer to their mail, which contains demands to halt support for the Salvadoran regime.

Some senators have stated that there is growing pressure from the voters, who oppose the policy of financing genocide against the Salvadoran people; others call El Salvador a "bottomless barrel," expressing doubt about giving money to a government which violates human rights.²⁰

As a result of strong pressure from the liberals, Congress established conditions for granting military aid to El Salvador: the Salvadoran dictatorship must respect human rights, agrarian reform started by the Duarte regime must be implemented, a procedure for the monitoring of security forces by civilian authorities must be established, and the circumstances under which American citizens are killed in El Salvador must be investigated.²¹

And, finally, the position of a number of influential Latin American states is an important source of support for supporters of the liberals' views.

How capable is the liberal opposition of providing by itself for a realistic resolution of the problems in El Salvador? It is hardly worth repeating that with all its "realism," the liberals' position is aimed at providing for those same "national U.S. interests," although by different means.

Reality has already shown that each of the points in the liberals' plan is double-edged: agrarian reform has meant the deception of the broad masses of the peasantry; the security forces and the semi-military terrorist formations in El Salvador have successfully evaded human rights, while the civilian authorities were not in a position to establish procedures for monitoring them (even if they had wanted to do this).

An orientation toward centrist or related groups has also revealed through the example of El Salvador the double-edged nature of this kind of position, in view of the practical lack of a consolidated "center," because, as is well known, some of the reformist groups have joined the forces which are conducting armed struggle against the regime, while other figures who come from a reformist persuasion are attempting to create a respectable facade for the dictatorship of the fascist military.

For this reason the liberals' position either coincides with the approach of the administration, which extends aid to El Salvador, or (in places where the talk is of political settlement) it is aimed at splitting the liberation movement, because it stipulates the "institutionalization" of only one faction of the El Salvadoran revolutionary forces, namely the Revolutionary-Democratic Front. The policy of splitting the liberation movement--a traditional element in Washington's Latin American policy--can be seen clearly with regard to Nicaragua, too. The liberals emphasize in

particular that the continuation of economic aid to this country is inextricably linked with hopes for the consolidation of those social and political forces which can be viewed as allies of the USA. The discussion concerns representatives of the local bourgeoisie, the middle strata and the respective political groups (on which the Carter government, too, counted in its time). For this reason the "major press" calls for cooperation with the "non-Sandinista revolutionaries" and for the necessity of "constructive participation" by the USA in the Nicaraguan process in order to prevent this country from turning into a "second Cuba."

However, everything that has been said about the negative sides of the liberal conception does not exclude the main point: the representatives of the moderate portion of the ruling circles reject or do not believe in open forms of interventionism, military means for the solution of problems, or the use of force instead of political settlement. And it is this approach which makes possible dialog among the various social and political groups and states with differing social systems.

As experience has shown, realistic statements are being formulated on this platform jointly by the developing countries (Mexico, Venezuela), by social-democratic parties and governments (France), by the antiwar movement (USA) and by liberation movements (El Salvador).

These states, movements and parties have differing goals, but the Reagan administration views the fact that their interests coincide as a threat to U.S. imperial policy. For this reason agreement among the factions of the ruling circles is acquiring this kind of significance because it would ensure a continuation of the hard-line policy, but with a liberal camouflage.

In search of the lost consensus

As one might expect from a comparison of the liberal and conservative ideas, certain factions of the ruling circles adhere to various views on the Latin American problem. The question arises: what are the practical chances that each of these currents will influence U.S. policy in the near future? How does the executive authority react to differences on cardinal questions of Latin American policy?

The Reagan administration is faced with the necessity of taking into consideration conditions related to the situation within Latin America itself as well as the situation outside it.

The government continues to support the thesis about "communist penetration" as the reason for the socio-political conflict in Central America, but it also recognizes the existence of internal conditions for the development of the revolutionary movement: it is increasing arms shipments, but it is also expressing a willingness to support the implementation of reforms. Secretary of State G. Shultz states that instability in Central America results "not only from Soviet interference," but "also from poverty and a feeling of helplessness."²²

While supporting the thesis about the "organicity" of authoritarian regimes for the states in this region, Washington, however, persistently put forward the idea of holding "legal elections" in El Salvador (March 1982), which were designed to camouflage rightist terror but at the same time were, according to the plans of Washington politicians, supposed to help attract local supporters of the centrist alternatives for development, as well as help neutralize opponents in the USA, Western Europe and related currents and governments in Latin America itself. The administration by no means avoids characteristic liberal cliches. Its representatives constantly (a little less than their predecessors or liberal opponents) appeal to "democracy," "pluralism," even to "the protection of human rights," and other "traditional values."

The administration makes attempts "to borrow" certain positions which are supported by its liberal rivals (right up to the "appropriation" of the Roosevelt legacy).

However, there is a substantial feature which distinguishes the government's position from the liberal and extreme right-wing judgments of the situation in Latin America. In general, the liberals emphasize the "threat to democratic institutions" coming from the right in the continent's countries; ultra-conservatives draw a picture of a "totalitarian offensive" on the continent. While objecting to both sides, the Reagan administration representatives talk about the "normal democratic development" in a number of the Caribbean countries, Ecuador and Peru, the "liberalization" in Brazil and the "triumph of pluralism."²³

In other words, the White House attempts to present its course for the continent as the optimal alternative for Latin American policy. At the same time the government in fact is showing what kind of "democratization" it wishes to see in Latin America: the "elections" in El Salvador were eloquent testimony to the true intentions of the Reaganites.

But not a lot is required here: it is enough to recall that with all the counterfeit and hoax-like nature of the "elections" in El Salvador, they were accepted by American liberals as "an encouraging step" in the direction of the "democratization" of this country. For its part, the Reagan government took "decisive" measures to further observe the proprieties: the visit by General V. Walters and his dialog with representatives of rightist parties in El Salvador was a vivid example of the methods of political dictation for the purposes of false "democratization."²⁴

The signs which testify to the administration's attempts to find a "coordinated" solution and to the well-known deviation from original declarations, is observed as well in the government's position on the issue of economic aid to the countries of the continent. While announcing a reduction in foreign aid programs, the republican administration at the same time put forward a "mini Marshall Plan" as a "means of solving" the socio-economic problems in the Caribbean and Central American countries--and of ensuring a capitalist evolution favorable to U.S. interests.

Conflicts within the ruling circles are also reflected in the government's personnel policy, although the newly appointed diplomats and high officials of foreign policy departments on Latin American affairs include a predominance of pragmatically inclined-figures with rightist views. However, under conditions of political disagreement and behind-the-scenes machinations, the government is attempting to adhere to a "middle line" in the question of appointments as well. For example, the State Department confirmed the appointment of "moderate" T. Enders, former U.S. ambassador to Canada, as assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs despite opposition from ultra-conservatives in government and Congress, but to make up for their "bitter disappointment" the retired generals G. Summer (one of the authors of the notorious "Santa Fe document," which reflected the ideals of the "new right" with regard to Latin America) and V. Walters were appointed to important posts as advisers to Enders and the secretary of state.

The retirement of embassy directors in Nicaragua and El Salvador, the liberally-oriented diplomats L. Pezzullo and R. White, who were replaced by hard-line supporters, aroused sharp polemics.

However, while trying to create the appearance of agreement among factions of the ruling circles and increasing the attributes of the liberal camouflage, the administration is "holding out until death" on the main point--on issues of "opposition to the communist threat," i.e., on issues related to the armed suppression of the liberal struggle, especially in Central America.

The Reagan government has turned "military logic" into the basis of its policy in this region.²⁵ The escalation of military intervention in El Salvador is being implemented, the volume of military aid is being increased, and American military advisers are being sent here. A number of harsh measures were taken with regard to Nicaragua: all forms of economic aid were halted, "scenarios" for armed incursion in order to strangle the revolution were developed, and widespread subversive activities by the special services were unleashed.

The three "scenarios" for overturning the revolutionary government in Nicaragua include the secret war being carried out by the CIA, the "inter-American" intervention with the participation of the Honduras and possibly other reactionary regimes in the region and, finally, direct U.S. incursion: all these measures continue to be worked on in Washington. The administration is attempting to frighten the revolutionary forces and progressive governments, and advertises its own bellicose preparations (While still secretary of state, Haig refused to give the Senate an assurance of non-interference in Nicaragua or of attempts to overturn or destabilize the Sandinista government).²⁶

Military-political considerations dominate other aspects of activities in this region. The emphasis on military-strategic priorities, which is characteristic of Reagan, has also been reflected in the "aid" given to the Caribbean countries. Having appropriated \$350 million for economic assistance to the Caribbean countries, the Reagan government excluded Cuba and Nicaragua from the plan.

The method of economic repressions is being disseminated ever more widely. The sanctions applied against Argentina during the Malvinas crisis constitute one of the more recent examples.

However, the adventurism and reliance on strength in American global policy do not exclude an attempt by Washington to resort openly to a military solution in this region (this is virtually what is already being carried out); the frontal implementation of this kind of solution would entail a "political" cost," which would have serious domestic and foreign consequences for the USA.

This chain of considerations includes as well the liberal opposition to Reagan policy on the part of a segment of the ruling circles.

Observers note that at the present time the main problem in U.S. political life is the vacuum in the political center: Republicans continue to be grouped mainly on the right, and the Democrats--despite attempts by certain figures--on the left. If doubtful terminology is thrown out (because one can talk about "leftist" opposition by liberals only in a conditional manner), as well as the identification of the rightists and moderates with the corresponding political parties, one can agree that the attempts by the ruling circles to find the desired consensus are not leading at present to any tangible result. The political crisis in the USA continues to gather strength.

Innovations or traditions

The Reagan administration's Latin American policy claims to be new, but as in the past, it is essentially traditional. Each of the aspects of the government's course confirms the well-known statement that "a new thing is something old which has been well forgotten." For example, free enterprise is declared (not for the first time) to be the main means for the resolution of Latin American problems, while the development of bilateral relations instead of a single Latin American policy (which was the case under Nixon) is given out as a "new means" for strengthening "close and friendly links between the USA and the other countries of the Western hemisphere."²⁷

One of the main points of disagreement is the question of allies. Should bourgeois-democratic representative regimes be encouraged or should relations be developed with the governments which are actually present, i.e., should the political situation be accepted "as it is?" The old problem of how to combine the "fundamental values" of the bourgeois-democratic political system with recognition--in the person of Washington's foreign partners--of rightist authoritarian dictatorships, terrorist forms of rule and violent methods of seizing power, has once again become the object of attention.

Neither the formulation of the question or its solution in any way supports the government's claims to innovation. On the contrary, the well-worn grooves of Washington's Latin American policy are being replayed.

It is not only the government's arguments which are old. The liberals conception does not dazzle one with its newness. For this reason the

debates in Congress recall the initial positions of the first round of imperialistic reformism in the early 60's. The "inconvenience" of an alliance with right-wing dictators was even then very familiar to the liberal figures who provided the basis for the well known "Alliance for Progress" program. Today these same considerations are arising again.

Economic aid, the favored child of liberal figures, was constantly the subject of stormy debates in Congress and the stumbling block in the process experienced by every new administration in the formulation of its Latin American policy. In these discussions the supporters and opponents to economic aid frequently object to the same arguments. The republicans traditionally adhere to the viewpoint that the expenditure of large amounts of state funds for the development needs of foreign states, even for nations which have friendly relations with the USA, goes against "national interests." In contrast, the democrats think that aid programs are a very important instrument in the strengthening of U.S. foreign policy positions.

The administration agreed (in the end) to the need for "cooperation for development purposes." The main task of this kind of cooperation is declared to be the development of private enterprises and the expansion of private capital investment, including foreign investments.

By itself this is nothing new: providing for the monopolies' interests and exporting the basic capitalist values constitute an integral element of imperialist aid under all administrations. However, the Reagan administration representatives emphasize that although "it is impossible to ignore the disproportions in the distribution of incomes," "a more equitable distribution of incomes can be achieved only under conditions of economic growth."²⁸

The old polemic of "social reforms or economic development" is reflected by the Reagan government in the form of a more or less open refusal to support social reforms; this is a problem which has a direct relationship to the choice of allies from among the continent's countries.

Nor are the liberals using new arguments when they call upon the government to counter "subversive activities" by Cuba on this continent not with an armed response but with a financial one in Central America and the Caribbean. However, it is well known that this proposal to halt the revolutionary process in the continent's countries by means of large-scale economic programs has also been put forward frequently, and attempts have been made to solve the problems of Latin America with economic aid. Every time obstacles have arisen which could not be overcome either by massive injections of dollars or by reformist plans. In order to become convinced of this, it is sufficient to become familiar with U.S. policy in Latin America over the last two decades.

Even the striving for consensus has its own tradition. The moderate liberals lay claim to the role of "protectors" of the founding fathers' legacy. However, when they actually take over the helm of power, they immediately begin "balancing" their policy by harsh means--there are more than enough of

examples of this kind of policy: Kennedy's anti-Cuban maneuvers, Johnson's Dominican actions, Carter's conservative turn. All in all, the Carter administration was a government of the liberal segment of the establishment and it implemented the ideas of that segment, but during the middle of his term in office this line was "corrected" from the right. "Values" enter into conflict with "interests," and for this reason each of the factions fulfills its own function, "correcting" each other and ensuring the balanced existence of the ruling class in general.

An important group of conflicts is also developing in the milieu of U.S. big business.

The implementation of Reagan's "Caribbean initiative" is fraught with the danger of worsening conflicts in the structure of developed GMK /state monopoly capitalism/. The problem is that at a time when Washington's Latin American policy is being formulated with consideration for the interests of the multinational corporations (they constitute the main interested party in the implementation of Reagan's Caribbean plan), the American monopolies which are linked to the U.S. domestic market find themselves in an unfavorable position. Representatives of this part of the business world have already expressed their dissatisfaction with the invasion of cheap goods from Taiwan, South Korea, Hong Kong and Singapore, which long ago were turned into an integral unit of the production system of international capital. The prospect of having within direct proximity to American territory one more source of competition, established under privileged conditions and protected by means of an entire system of benefits and preferential treatment, naturally does not appeal to small and medium-sized firms, which are becoming the first victims and are being squeezed out of the U.S. domestic market.

The question of limiting the private monopoly element and of strengthening the regulating role of the state is one of the main ones in the polemics between the liberals and conservatives which have gone on for decades; this issue is also directly related to key aspects of Latin American policy. Washington's approach to problems related to the state sector of the economy, and to the regulatory functions of the state, etc. has always prompted disagreement among individual factions of the U.S. ruling class, and at the same time it has been an object of particular attention on the part of Latin American partners. One of the recent examples is the dissatisfaction of the Caribbean states with the program put forward by Reagan for the resolution of the socio-political problems of this sub-region. Representatives of the interested governments noted that the "Caribbean initiative" is based on encouraging the private sector to the detriment of the interests of the state, which plays an important role in the socio-economic development of the countries on the continent.

New Events--new conflicts

The Malvinas crisis aroused an immediate explosion of disagreement in the government. But this time the discussion concerned the clash between A. Haig, then secretary of state, and J. Kirkpatrick, U.S. representative at the United Nations. Acting as a consistent supporter of "Atlanticism,"

Haig took a position of unconditional support for Great Britain, while Kirkpatrick insisted on the need to prevent a complete break with Argentina in order not to set all of Latin America against Washington. This position was also taken by Presidential Adviser on National Security Clark and Assistant Secretary of State for Latin American Affairs Enders.²⁹

The watershed between the supporters and opponents of the "Atlantic" (conditionally speaking) position by no means corresponded to the division between the moderates and the rightists. In particular, the only senator who voted against the pro-English resolution was one of the most inveterate "hawks" in Congress, J. Helms. He spoke against Senate adoption of the resolution in support of Great Britain on the basis of the above-indicated considerations because he thought this shift on Washington's part would interfere with the prevention of the "communist seizure of Latin America."³⁰

The events related to the Anglo-Argentine conflict significantly worsened relations between the USA and the states of Latin America. In early December 1982, Reagan undertook a trip to a number of the continent's countries. However, the attempts to restore Washington's prestige did not bring the desired results.

The administration continues to carry out its activities under conditions of unceasing squabbling in the "highest echelons of power," where conceptual and departmental disagreements among particular units of the governmental apparatus, groups and political figures are superimposed on hostility, rivalry, career aspirations and other personal motives. The press has frequently directed attention to the fact that under Reagan the ceaseless "quarreling" in government circles has acquired an unprecedented level.

The conflicts within the U.S. ruling circles on Latin American policy issues reflect a real process--the lack of correspondence between Washington's foreign policy strategy and the present-day international situation in general and in Latin America in particular. It hardly needs to be said that the concepts suggested by the conservatives and the liberals--hegemonism based on strength or moral hegemonism--cannot solve this problem. However, the persistent need to adapt to new realities forces part of the ruling classes to emphasize their disagreement with the adventurism of the most aggressive forces.

The unity of the class task and the general goals of the groups whose concepts were examined above does not exclude the fact that strengthening the influence wielded by moderate liberal circles on foreign policy, including Latin American policy, can have positive significance for international relations both in regional as well as global spheres. The possibility of such a development should not be discounted. This viewpoint is adhered to by the American communists: "One cannot exclude the possibility that conditions may arise which in the end will make the White House face the necessity of re-examining its foreign policy course."³¹

All this applies as well to U.S. policy in Latin America. And although the Reagan government represents the rightist current and occupies openly

adventuristic positions on the most important international problems, the re-alignment of forces within the ruling circles remains an important factor for the development of U.S. policy in the Western hemisphere.

FOOTNOTES

1. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." /Complete Collected Works/, Vol 44, p 407.
2. For more detail see K.S. Gadzhiev, "Evolvutsiya osnovnykh techeniy amerikayskoy burzhuaznoy ideologii. 50-70ye gody" /The Evolution of the Basic Currents in American Bourgeois Ideology. The 50's through the 70's/, Moscow, 1982.
3. See LATINSKAYA AMERIKA, No 7, 1982, pp 86-105.
4. "US Policy toward El Salvador. Hearings before the Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. House of Representatives. Ninety-Seventh Congress. First Session. March 5 and 11, 1981," Washington, 1981, p 211.
5. LATIN AMERICA. WEEKLY REPORT, London, No 10, 1982, p 11.
6. For more detail see: SSHA. EKONOMIKA, POLITIKA, IDEOLOGIYA, No 4, 1981, pp 60-66.
7. "US National Interest in Latin America. Hearing before the Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. House of Representatives. Ninety-Seventh Congress. First Session. March 4, 1981," Washington, 1981, pp 52, 56-57.
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22. US NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, Washington 1982, Vol 93, No 4, p 25.
23. THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN, Washington, 1982, Vol 82 No 2058, p 13.
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25. See: K. Khachaturov, "Washington's Latin American Policy," MEZHDUNAROD-NAYA ZHIZN', 1981, No 12; A.N. Glinkin, "U.S. Hegemonism in the Western Hemisphere. History and the Present-Day," LATINSKAYA AMERIKA, 1982, No 5; V.N. Lunin, Latin America Under Washington's Aim (on the "Santa Fe Document")," LATINSKAYA AMERIKA, 1982, No 3; R. Arismendi, "Global Recklessness Once Again," PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, 1981, No 7.
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28. THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN, 1982, Vol 82, No 2058, p 2.
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30. TIME, New York, 1982, Vol 119, No 20, p 22.
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NOVEMBER 1982 BRAZILIAN ELECTION RESULTS ANALYZED

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 3, Mar 83 pp 74-78

Article by A.A. Sosnovskiy: "Results of the Elections in Brazil"

Text In the Brazilian elections which were held on 15 November 1982 the opposition parties gained a majority of seats in the lower house of the National Congress. Their candidates became governors in ten states, including São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro and Minas Gerais; they also became mayors and municipal councillors in many cities. To a significant degree the government maintained control over the National Congress and many other states as a result of the discriminatory system which it adopted for amendments to the election legislation.

The results of the voting provide visible evidence of the serious shifts in the direction of the democratization of Latin America's largest country. The 15 November 1982 elections were an important landmark in the development of this process.

On election day 58.5 million Brazilian voters formed long lines at 200,000 polling places located in more than 4,000 municipalities of the country (a small monetary fine was levied for non-participation in the elections). They came to choose governors for 22 states (elections were not conducted in the recently organized state of Rondonia), one-third of the members of the upper chamber of the National Congress, all of the deputies for the lower chamber, 974 deputies to state legislative assemblies, 4,034 judges and 37,894 municipal councillors. The elections were the most representative in the entire history of Brazil.

The very fact that the elections were held was supposed to confirm the continuation of the policy of liberalization, the pace of which had recently slowed down, giving rise to various rumors. Attention was also given to the fact that for the first time in the years of military rule the state governors, who are endowed with substantial powers under Brazil's federal structure, were being elected by direct vote. Suffice it to say that in the 18 previous years the government had appointed the governors. Finally, these elections were the first since the turn toward liberalization, the amnesty for a majority of the regime's political opponents, the elimination of the false two-party system and the restoration--

although limited, inasmuch as the Brazilian Communist Party (BCP) has at present not been legalized--of the multi-party system.

Candidates were put forward by the government Party of Social Democracy (PSD)¹ and four opposition parties: the Party of the Brazilian Democratic Movement (PBDM), the Brazilian Labor Party (BLP), The Party of Democratic Labor (PDL) and the Party of the Working People (PWP). The elections provided an opportunity to discover to a significant degree the real alignment of forces among them, and to determine the degree of support which the voters feel for the government and the opposition in general.

There is another no less important circumstance to which the government and foreign observers paid attention during the approach to the elections. The deputies of the National Congress who were elected on 15 November 1982 will join with representatives of all the states (six each) in the autumn of 1984 to confirm the candidacy of the successor to J. Figueiredo, the current Brazilian president. For this reason the results of the recent elections may be reflected in the country's political life even up to the '90's.

All this explains why the government and the opposition both had high hopes for the elections. The government was counting on using them to advance farther along the path of institutionalizing the current regime, and to provide for itself not only firm, but also as much as possible legally and constitutionally based control over the National Congress, and this means over the college of electors for the future president. This would guarantee the success of the policy of gradual intra-political "decompression" which it is carrying out; it would confirm the effectiveness of the tactics which they have used in recent years to split the anti-dictator forces. And the opposition was attempting to prove that in fact it enjoys the support of the overwhelming majority of the population, which rejects military adventurism; it was also attempting to master the actual political levers for exerting pressure on the government to speed up the process of democratic transformations.

The preparation for the elections, like the entire processs of liberalization in Brazil, took place in an atmosphere of extremely acute and tense political struggle. The sources of the struggle lie in the very nature of the latest domestic political shifts. The rejection of the odious and obsolete elements of the authoritarian military government took shape at the end of period during which the military government of E. Gaisel was in power, and it was confirmed after J. Figueiredo received the presidential power: this rejection was caused by the objective socio-economic shifts which took place in Brazil during the 60's and 70's. It corresponds to the long-range interests of Brazilian capitalism, which grew significantly stronger during this period.

The real content of liberalization is primarily the result of the movement of broad democratic forces in Brazil, which have consistently opposed dictatorship for more than a decade and a half. The upswing in the struggle of the working class, energetic actions by the political opposition and the growth of democratic aspirations on the part of the broad strata of society forced the

1. In the press it is also called the Social Democratic Party, but this does correspond to its nature or ideological direction.

ruling circles to make serious concessions. It is typical that among the five legally existing political parties (including the government party) there was not one which decided to include openly rightist, conservative positions and slogans in its program.

However, even the slow, careful steps of the military governments along the path of domestic political "decompression" have aroused sharp opposition from the right-wing extremist segment of the military-political "establishment" and from the semi-military pro-fascist formations, which are active in many states of the country, and which are related to this establishment.

Forced to operate under conditions of a democratic upswing and outside the framework of the party system, the ultra-rightists resorted to tactics of terror. During 1980 and the spring of 1981, they arranged divisive actions, attacked the editorial offices of progressive publications, and tried in every way possible to heat up the political atmosphere, to sow fear among the broad strata of the population about the repressive measures which the military would impose if the democratic forces won. They also tried to force the government to return to authoritarian methods of rule. Credit for the fact that the ultra-rightists did not succeed in turning back the development of the positive domestic political processes in Brazil goes primarily to the broad democratic forces, which said a decisive "no" to the threat from the right and which joined together in order to provide this rebuff. That segment of the ruling circles which has the most foresight is also aware of the impossibility of preserving a dictatorship under conditions of a growing democratic upswing.

The sharp struggle among the political tendencies left an imprint on the entire course of the election campaign. Although it only began officially on 15 May 1982, a significant portion of the activities of all parties over a period of nearly two years was "aimed" at the elections. Slogans, programs, speeches by the leaders and propaganda actions (for the opposition these were made significantly more difficult by the "Falcao law" on propaganda which continue to be in effect) were clearly directed toward winning the maximum possible segment of the electorate, an electorate whose mood was difficult to predict after 18 years of authoritarianism. Nor was there a lack of campaign demagogues, who generously dispensed promises, or of advertisements for real and expected achievements of the government and opposition bourgeois parties. The ultra-rightist militarist circles threatened not to recognize the results of the elections if the opposition candidates won.

By mid-1981 it was clear to the government that the combined forces of the opposition were in a position to win an absolute majority of the deputy seats in parliament and the key gubernatorial posts. This could realistically pose a threat to the entire strategy of "liberalization," which involved the preservation of governmental control over the National Congress and the change of presidents. In this situation President Figueiredo resorted to a method, which had been used frequently by his predecessors in situations critical for the regime (it was last used by the Baizel government in 1977), of re-examining the electoral legislation. In late 1981

a set of new legislative measures was put for consideration before the National Congress, in which the government had a majority.

The basic provisions included a ban on party coalitions at the elections and mandatory voting for a single slate of candidates from each party for every post--from municipal councillor to governor, deputy and senator. The first of these measures was supposed to deprive the opposition of the opportunity to take unified actions. The second made it possible for the government, which had much greater means at its disposal to influence the voters in outlying regions (subsidies, programs for regional development, etc.) than did the opposition, to influence the outcome of the elections.

The changes in the electoral legislation inflicted a heavy blow against the opposition. However, after several months of fruitless debates in the National Congress, during the course of which the deputies from the opposition parties vainly attempted to introduce amendments to the new law which would soften its effect, their leaders recognized that counteracting the government's manuevers required a firmer alliance than the loose one organzied just for the period of the election campaign. In February 1982 the congresses of the largest of the then existing oposition parties, PBDM and the Popular Party (PP) adopted a decision to unite under the PBDM flag. In March, despite the government's hardened opposition, the Supreme Electoral Tribunal approved this merger.

The government had to look for new ways to ensure control over the results of the elections. All the mass media were put into service; the government arranged colorful presentations and meetings; the president, ministers and governors triumphantly opened new schools, medical facilities and bus lines to advertise their achievements. Of course, the opposition had significantly fewer opportunities of this kind. Not satisfied with propaganda, the government adopted a new, extremely complicated procedure for voting: the voters had to put down by hand a whole series of entries on their ballots. In Brazil, where the percentage of illiterates is high, this measure led to a significant number of ballots being spoiled because they were not correctly filled in, and this, too, worked in favor of the government.

Nonetheless, by the end of the election campaign, data from public opinion polls which were conducted regularly in all of the Brazilian states showed that the government's PSD and the opposition PBDM were running nearly even. By this time another trend had emerged. A polarization of the political forces had taken place. The electors gave their votes mainly to the PSD and the PBDM as the most likely victors in the elections. For example, in March 1980, 14 percent of those polled were in favor of the PDS, but by the end of September 1982 the figure had reached 33 percent. The figures for the PBDM were 10 percent and 30 percent respectively. Support for the small parties had dropped sharply, for the PWP, for example, from 18 to 5 percent, and for the BLP from 22 percent to 4 percent. As a result the elections in many states became in fact two-party plebiscites, at which the voters were supposed to say "yes" or "no" to the government's policy. Put more broadly the question was: should the slow rate, gradualness and elitest nature of the liberalization process be maintained, or should a change

be made in the direction of more decisive, thorough and consistent democratic transformations?

The results of the voting showed that there exists within the country a strong desire for radical changes. In Sao Paulo, the largest economic center not only of Brazil but also of all of Latin America (12 million voters), one of the leaders of the PBDM, Franco Montoro, who is well known for his consistent defense of democratic transformations, became governor. The politically and economically important state of Minas-Gerais (more than 6 million voters) was headed by the former leader of the PWP and currently by the PBDM vice president Tancredo Neves. In Rio de Janeiro, the country's largest political center (about 6 million voters) the well-known opposition figure and leader of the PDL Leonel Brizola was elected governor. Nearly half of the Brazilian electorate is concentrated in these three states, and in addition, seven of the country's other states elected governors from the opposition PBDM. On the basis of preliminary data, the opposition received 50 percent of the votes. The government's percentage in the lower chamber of the National Congress was reduced from 53.8 percent to 48.8 percent, with a corresponding increase in the number of opposition deputies.

Because the PBDM has gained control over the executive power in nine states (12 are in the hands of the government's PDS) and significantly increased its representation in the National Congress (from 167 to 201 deputies in the lower chamber) and in the local organs of power, it may turn itself into a real force which influences the course of the Brazilian political process. The other opposition parties received respectively: 23 seats in Congress (PDL), 13 seats (BLP) and 8 seats (PWP).

As a result of the discriminatory voting legislation the government was able to maintain its control over the National Congress (through the Senate and the lower chamber, where the number of PSD deputies grew from 226 to 234) and over a majority of the municipalities. But, as a number of mass media organs have noted, this by no means indicates that the Brazilian people have reconciled themselves to the existing state of affairs.

The Communist Party, deprived of an opportunity to put forward its own candidates at the elections, called on the working class and all democratic forces to support the PBDM, and in the event of victory, to create a democratic coalition government, with the participation of all the anti-dictatorship political currents.

One must not fail to take note of the government's fundamental position with regard to the voting results. Despite the threats and the crude pressure from the ultra-rightist militaristic circles, who are trying to prevent at any cost the opposition candidates from taking up their gubernatorial posts in the key states, President Figueiredo and other government representatives have emphasized frequently their firm resolve to ensure that all of the legally elected candidates assume their duties. A particularly tense struggle has broken out around the election of L. Brizola to the post of governor in the state of Rio de Janeiro. His convincing victory over the PSD candidates called forth a genuine explosion of provocative actions from the ultra-rightists, who are trying to frighten the

government and the rank and file voters with the spectre of a "syndicalist republic," allegedly associated with the name of Brizola. Nonetheless, judging by its official statements, the Figueiredo government continues firm in its intention not to give way to pressure "from the right."

The results of the election constitute evidence of the Brazilian people's growing will for the consistent democratization of their country, an important step in the development of the process of positive domestic-political changes.

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BOOK ON SOVIET ECONOMIC TIES WITH THIRD WORLD REVIEWED

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 3, Mar 83 pp 138-140

/Review by L.L. Klochkovskiy of book "SSSR i Razvivayushchiyesya Strany: Opyt Ekonomicheskogo sotrudничestva" /The USSR and the Developing Countries: the Experience of Economic Cooperation/ by A.S. Kodachenko, "Mezhdunarodnyye otnosheniya", Moscow, 1982, 128 pages/

/Text/ The expansion of the Soviet Union's cooperation with the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America is one of the noteworthy phenomena of present-day international life. The dynamism of this process, the diversity of its forms, and its growing influence on the economics and politics of the developing countries attract general attention to it. Soviet scholars have the important and continuing task of studying this cooperation in depth, of analyzing its fruitful results, of providing a vivid and convincing demonstration of its mutually beneficial nature and its significance for the developing countries, which are struggling persistently for economic independence, for the democratization of international economic relations and for the re-organization of these relations on principles of equality and fairness. This new work by Professor A.S. Kodachenko, doctor of economic sciences, is devoted to this task. The author has set himself the goal of providing a general description of the USSR's economic relations with the developing countries at the start of the 1980's.

In this work the author cites a large amount of interesting factual material, which testifies to the steady development of trade between the USSR and the other socialist states, on the one hand, and the developing countries, on the other hand; there is also material on the establishment of effective economic and scientific-technical cooperation. For example, in 1979, reciprocal trade turnover for the CEMA countries and the developing states reached nearly 19 billion rubles and exceeded by 3.8-fold the 1970 level (p 70). The total amount of credits granted by the socialist states to the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America amounted to 16.1 billion rubles. By the end of the 70's there were 90 Asian, African and Latin American countries which were receiving assistance from the CEMA member nations. This assistance included the construction of 4,600 industrial enterprises and other facilities, of which 3,200 had been handed over and put into operation (p 76).

The author devotes a great deal of attention to showing the important qualitative and distinguishing features of USSR economic cooperation with the developing countries. The countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America see in their relations with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states an opportunity to provide for the planned development of foreign economic ties. The planned nature of the economy in the socialist states, and the lack of crises in their economic development create a constant and expanding market--which is not subject to fluctuations in the business cycle--for the traditional exports and for the new products of the developing countries; they also make it possible to utilize such important commercial-political and economic instruments as long-term trade agreements and programs for economic and scientific-technical cooperation.

Soviet economic and technical assistance has been characterized by a shift to long-term and large-scale cooperation, expanded construction of facilities under general contract conditions (i.e., a facility is handed over in a state of complete readiness for operations, L. K.) and on a compensatory basis, the development of production cooperation on the basis of enterprises which were built with Soviet assistance, the improvement of currency and financial conditions, and the intensification of cooperation in the area of planning work. For example, the proportion of USSR assistance granted under general contract conditions increased from 15 percent in 1975 to 44 percent in 1980 (p 77). Production cooperation and cooperation in the construction of enterprises, making products which both sides are interested in, are acquiring an ever broader nature. As of 1980 the Soviet Union had signed with the developing countries about 30 compensation-type agreements. During the 10th Five-Year Plan (1976-1980) alone, the USSR imported goods worth more than 2.8 billion rubles from the enterprises in the developing countries which were built with Soviet support. In recent years products from enterprises built with Soviet participation have accounted for more than one-fifth of the developing countries' exports to the USSR (p 85).

Considerable space in the work is given over to an analysis of the large contribution which the Soviet Union is making to the construction of the national economies in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America and to the strengthening of their positions in the world market. As the author correctly emphasizes, "one feature of the economic and scientific-technical cooperation of the USSR and the developing countries is its orientation toward the establishment of key facilities, which help to develop the nucleus of an independent national economy, and this provides the foundation to provide for expanded national reproduction at an accelerated rate" (p 78). More than 80 percent of the means granted by the USSR to the developing states is directed to the development of the production sphere, and primarily to the processing industry (including heavy industry), as well as to the extraction of minerals. In 1976-1980, for example, the developing countries put into operation with Soviet assistance production capacities for 4.4 million tons of cast iron, 5.4 million tons of steel, 2.4 million rons of rolled products, 26 million tons of petroleum, 25 million tons of bauxite and 154,000 tons of aluminum. In general, enterprises built with Soviet assistance smelt more than 40 percent of all the cast iron and 30 percent of the steel produced in the countries of Asia and Africa at the present time.

While emphasizing the obvious positive results arising from the development of USSR economic cooperation with the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the author at the same time directs attention to a number of unresolved problems and difficulties. The latter are related specifically to differences in the political and socio-economic structures of the partners; these differences make it more difficult to coordinate plans for economic development and cooperation. Another problem which makes itself felt is the remaining, and sometimes increasing dependence of the economically developing countries on imperialism. Frequently the ruling circles of some developing states (and especially in those where elitist, exploiting clans have the predominant influence) attempt to utilize cooperation with the socialist countries not so much to improve the economies of their countries but rather as a means for pressuring the West in order to gain additional concessions for strengthening their influence and for further enrichment. In a number of developing countries the policy of cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states is not conducted with sufficient consistency. With regard to trade and other forms of links with the USSR, various discriminatory measures are still applied, and this cannot fail to complicate mutually beneficial cooperation.

It goes without saying that these negative factors are not in a position to change the basic and predominant tendency toward steady development in the USSR's economic ties with the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Based on their own experience the developing states recognize with ever greater clarity the objective need to strengthen their alliance with world socialism. As the author notes correctly in this work "the shift of the national-liberation movement into its qualitatively new phase, which is national-democratic in nature, and especially the transition of all the new countries to transformations of a socialist nature cannot be imagined outside the context of close alliance and cooperation with the USSR and the other socialist countries" (p 113).

In conclusion I would like to emphasize that in terms of its content Professor A.S. Kodachenko's book is actually broader than its title; it claims to deal with the basic tendencies in the economic cooperation with the developing countries not only with regard to the USSR, but also with reference to all the CEMA member nations. One can only regret in this regard that space limitations clearly did not make it possible for the author to provide broader factual material in support of his general theses about the European socialist countries of CEMA. However, in general this work undoubtedly represents a step forward in the treatment of timely issues in the economic cooperation of the USSR and the other socialist states with the developing countries.

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BOOK ON LATIN AMERICAN-EEC ECONOMIC TIES REVIEWED

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/Review by Yu.M. Melikov of book "Ekonomicheskiye otnosheniya stran Latinskoy Ameriki s YESS" /The Economic Relations of the Latin American Countries and the EEC/ by Yu.N. Paniyev, "Mezhdunarodnyye otnosheniya", Moscow, 1982, 164 pages/

/Text/ This monograph attracts attention primarily because of its subject, although it is not a new one in Soviet Latin American studies. In 1969 E.Ya. Sheynin¹ published a monograph on this same subject; it was reviewed by the author of these lines in the very first issue of the journal LATINSKAYA AMERIKA which was "born" in that year. And there are other coincidences. In both books the time frames of the research are limited to a decade: with Sheynin this is the decade of the 60's, and with Paniyev it is the 70's. Essentially the same theoretical problems are studied in both books. But with this, however, the similarities between the two monographs end.

In terms of its compositional structure, subject matter and sources, Yu.N. Paniyev's work is an original investigation, which does not repeat and does not copy (that would simply be impossible) the findings of his predecessors; instead it continues in a creative manner and adds depth to them under the changed new conditions. In the last 15 years, after all, substantial changes have taken place in economic ties in the world in general, in Latin America, in the EEC itself, as well as in the nature of the inter-imperialist struggle. All this, of course, left its imprint on relations between Western Europe and Latin America in the 70's: it also led to the accumulation of quantitative and qualitative shifts in these relations, as well as to the emergence of new phenomena and processes which require systematic and comprehensive study. This contributes to the timelines of this work, which contains an analysis of new problems, which were put forward by the reality of the dynamic 70's.

With regard to methodology, the author has made a definite step forward in comparison with earlier studies of this subject: he uses a two-fold

1. E.Ya. Sheynin, "Ekonomicheskaya ekspansiya gosudarstv-chlenov YESS v Latinskoy Amerike" /The Economic Expansion of the EEC Member States in Latin America/, Moscow, 1969.

approach to the solution of the problem, examining the relations between two countries from Latin American positions and from EEC positions. The fruitfulness of this type of analytical method is not open to doubt.

Although the subject matter chosen by Yu.N. Paniyev is extremely broad (both in terms of the number of countries studied and the number of problems posed) and required the treatment of a large body of factual material, the author succeeded on the whole in revealing the main trends in the exporting of goods and capital from the EEC countries, in discovering the basic forms and methods of neocolonialism, and in showing the struggle of the Latin American peoples for the new international economic order (NIEO).

While drawing on a wealth of factual material (which for the most part is being put into academic circulation for the first time) to portray the growing scale of EEC trade expansion in this region, the author attempts at the same time to elucidate the hidden reasons for this phenomenon.

On the one hand, he studies the needs of the Latin American countries for machines and equipment as a result of the further process of industrialization, and on the other hand, the worsening of the market conditions in the EEC countries under the influence of the mid-70's economic crisis and the attempt by the Western European multinational corporations to switch over to filling Latin American orders in order to compensate for the reduction in domestic demand, to expand production and to overcome in this way some of the consequences of the crisis.

The author correctly concludes that at present, given the scientific-technical revolution, machines and equipment play the main role in the export of goods from the EEC to Latin America. And the countries of the region try to take advantage of this circumstance to weaken their dependence on the USA (p 68). While analyzing the diverse forms and methods of EEC trade expansion (providing credits for exports, comparatively moderate interest rates, relatively long repayment periods for loans, etc.), the author at the same time reveals the factors which objectively hinder the expansion of Latin American imports from the EEC (for example, price increases for Western European machinery and equipment, limited payment capability on the part of the Latin American countries).

The discriminatory nature of the trade policy conducted by the Western European "Common Market" with regard to the countries of this region in the 70's is examined in particular detail in the book, using particular countries in this region as examples, primarily Argentina, Brazil and Mexico. The author reveals in a convincing manner the negative influence of this trade policy on the growth of traditional Latin American exports, and he analyzes the various methods which the countries of the Western European community use to limit the sale of Latin American agricultural products (meat, grain, coffee, bananas, and others). He has drawn a substantially important conclusion in the following: "the worsening of the positions of the Latin American states in a majority of the community's markets for agricultural products and other raw materials is continuing" (p 100). The author subjects to an equally careful analysis the EEC measures to limit the export of Latin American manufactured goods; these measures by themselves hold back the development of the processing industry in the region's countries and makes it more difficult to overcome dependence on the export of raw materials.

The author's attempt to show new aspects of the EEC neocolonialist policy, which is being carried out within the framework of the Latin American subregional groupings, is of significant interest.

By revealing the essence of the Western European multinational corporations' offensive in this region, Yu.N. Paniyev emphasizes the manifold purposes served by the export of private capital: the seizure of key positions in the economy (especially in the processing industry), as well as the seizure of raw materials, maximum possible expansion and consolidation of capitalist production, introduction into the state sector of the economy, and the obtaining of assistance to facilitate the export of goods and technology, etc.

The author proves his conclusion that the utilization of new, more veiled forms, methods and means of trade and economic expansion ensures the extraction of enormous profits by the Western European multinational corporations. The opposite side of this phenomenon is also revealed in the book, and that is the decapitalization of the Latin American countries. For this reason the ever increasing struggle of these countries against imperialist exploitation is completely in order: it is a struggle as well for equal rights in trade and economic relations and for the new international economic order.

The final chapter, which is devoted directly to an analysis of these problems, is logically completely justified and gives the book its finished, monographic nature. In our view, the value of this chapter lies primarily in its broad formulation of the very question of the new international economic order, as well as in the revelation of the role and initiatives of the Latin American countries in its development, and in the demonstration of their struggle to implement the basic principles of the NIEO.

In conclusion, I would like to direct attention to some of the shortcomings which the book has. While the author correctly concentrates his attention on the discovery of conflicts between the EEC and Latin America, as well as between the EEC and the USA, he loses sight of conflicts within the community itself, where each participant follows his own goals in this region and frequently these goals run counter to the interests of other EEC members. This omission by the author somehow narrows the scale of inter-imperialist rivalry in Latin America. Moreover, when talking about inter-imperialist struggle in this region, it is most important to provide an accurate description of the alignment of the competitors' forces after the main emphasis has been correctly placed. Incidentally, Yu.N. Paniyev is sometimes inclined to exaggerate the extent of EEC expansion and at the same time to somewhat underestimate the positions of the U.S. multinational corporations in Latin America. In this regard the following comparisons are hardly convincing: the figures for the rate and volume of investments from the EEC and the USA (p 22), as well as the respective EEC and U.S. shares in the exports of Brazil and Colombia (p 85).

The author's opinion that in Brazil the Western European countries are extracting "the highest profits in the world" (p 43) seems exaggerated (or in any case unproven). This book seems to be overloaded with tables,

and some of them (p 128) are unwieldy. Undoubtedly the monograph would benefit if all the tables were based on the author's own calculations.

The description of the various levers of technological neocolonialism, which in the 70's became an important instrument for increasing the economic expansion of the Western European multinational corporations, deserved more concentrated attention: after all, in their hands supplies of technology frequently serve as that weapon by means of which they are able to crowd out U.S. corporations. At the same time, let us note that it would not be correct to accuse the author forgetting completely about the problems of technological neocolonialism (it is discussed on pages 57-60 and 135-136).

In general, Yu.N. Paniyev's book, which is prepared on a sufficiently high theoretical level, enriches our ideas about the newest tendencies in the sphere of multinational corporate expansion in Latin America: it makes a definite contribution to the study of the problems of the inter-imperialist struggle in this region, and it helps to clarify the reasons for the growing struggle of the Latin American countries against imperialism.

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BOOK ON LATIN AMERICAN COMMUNIST PARTIES REVIEWED

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/Review by A.A. Sokolov of book "Kommunisticheskiye Partii Latinskoy Ameriki"
/The Communist Parties of Latin America/, "Nauka", 1982, 366 pages/

/Text/ The struggle of the Latin American peoples occupies a prominent place within the framework of the world revolutionary process. The following was emphasized at the 1969 International Conference of Communist and Workers Parties: "In this region of the world fighting democratic and anti-imperialist movements are developing, as are revolutionary processes, which will open up the way to socialism.

"The proletariat, as well as the communist and workers parties are playing an ever more important role in the anti-imperialist movement of Latin America."¹

This makes it easy to understand the particular interest which has been expressed in the life and struggle of the Latin American communist parties. Evidence of this can be seen in the works written within the framework of Soviet Latin American studies in the 70's, works which are devoted to the activities of the Latin American communist parties.² In other research of a more general nature special sections or chapters are given over to this issue.³

The publication under review will take its place in the ranks of these works. The main distinguishing feature of this new book is that it contains a short historical sketch on the formation of the Latin American communist parties, and recounts their work in the formulation of strategy and tactics, as well as their struggle within the context of the historical development of the respective countries.

In this regard particular attention is given to an examination of the communist parties' political line at various stages in their work. This is related to the fact, which is emphasized in the work, that the Latin American communist parties have had to operate under extremely diverse conditions (both in terms of historical and national aspects), which have been related to the ebb and flow of the revolutionary process. They have operated in the atmosphere of a developing socialist revolution and the building of socialism, under conditions of victorious and defeated democratic, anti-imperialist revolutions.

They have functioned under democratic, anti-imperialist military regimes, under "representative" bourgeois democracy and dictatorial, right-wing authoritarian regimes of various types, under relatively developed and backward capitalist countries, in colonies and in recently liberated states (pp 3-5). The author's collective has succeeded in showing the contribution of the Latin American communists to the historical struggle of the continent's peoples against reaction and imperialism, the struggle for democracy, freedom, sovereignty and social progress. A considerable portion of the book is devoted to the 60's and 70's, when the radicalization of the revolutionary processes in Latin America truly opened up a socialist prospect. (pp 3, 8-9). The authors use the theoretical and platform documents of the continent's communist parties to provide a basis for the position that "the struggle for democracy under present-day conditions is not a tactical goal; it is instead a component of the struggle for the social liberation of the working people, the struggle for the profound transformation of Latin American society" (p 13) to be based on the establishment of broad "...unified anti-imperialist, antidictatorial, democratic fronts" (p 9), and that the path to socialism in Latin America lies through the implementation of democratic, agrarian, anti-imperialist revolution, which will constitute the first stage of the revolutionary process in this region (pp 8-9).

In the book note is taken of the fact (which is supported by concrete material) that at the present-day stage the communist parties have significantly raised the level of their theoretical treatment of problems related to the liberation and revolutionary movements in their own countries, as well as the continent-wide revolutionary process (pp 358-359, 361-362).

In the introduction, conclusion and sections on the various countries, a convincing picture is drawn of the services and achievements of the Latin American communists in spreading propaganda for the ideas of scientific communism among the working people, in developing creatively Marxist-Leninist teachings in the struggle against revisionism, rightist and leftist opportunism and petty bourgeois revolutionaryism, as well as against sectarianism and dogmatism, and in strengthening proletarian internationalism, as well as the unity and solidarity of the international communist movement, and the solidarity with the CPSU and the Soviet Union, as well as the other socialist countries.

At the same time the book does not fully elaborate on certain problems which are posed in it, and it also provides grounds for a number of comments.

In the introductory portion of the work, it seems to us, inadequate consideration is given to the issue of the revolutionary forces' relation to various strata of the Latin American bourgeoisie and to the possible role of these strata in the liberation, anti-imperialist movement, especially as a result of the fact—for which the "country sections" of the book provide much material as evidence—that a majority of the communist parties consider it possible to draw certain bourgeois strata into participation in broad anti-imperialist fronts. And on this same subject, it seems to us that at present the composition of the Latin American oligarchy includes groups of the monopolistic

type of industrial-financial bourgeoisie, and not just the major commercial-financial bourgeoisie and the Latifundists, as is indicated in the book (p 7).

Some of the comments concern the structure and content of certain of the country sections.

The section on Cuba should have contained at least some mention of the first communist party, which was created in 1925, and its role in the formation of communist traditions in that country; brief mention should also have been made of the basic directions in the policy of the Cuban Communist Party in 1965-1975 on the basis of the documents and materials of its 1st congress.

The description of the practical activities of the communist parties of Uruguay and especially of Mexico are obviously inadequate in comparison with those of other communist parties.

I would like to make some comments on the editing of this book. Numerous stylistic errors (such as "the elimination of discrimination in the area of censorship," p 35, "inadequacies in the activation of the struggle," p 56, "the atmosphere... largely rests," p 295, etc.), annoying typographical errors (for example, it is reported that the Socialist Party of Argentina, which was created in 1898, established ties... with the 1st International, p 16), inaccurate and confused formulations and evaluations (for example, the identification of liberal and petty bourgeois reformism as political currents, pp 72, 226 and 234: the inclusion of all those employed in the service sphere and the administrative apparatus as hired workers, p 103; and the description of the J. Vargas regime of the 30's as pro-fascist, p 54) to a greater or lesser degree do exist, unfortunately, in nearly all the sections on the various countries.

This work, which is essentially a scholarly reference book will be useful for instructors in secondary and higher educational institutions, propagandists, and scientific workers (and not only those in Latin American studies) both in our country and abroad; it will also be of interest to the general reader. For this reason, it is clear that a second edition of the book is needed (the circulation of the first is very small), an edition from which these flaws must be removed.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Mezhdunarodnoye Soveshchaniye kommunisticheskikh i rabochikh partiy. Dokumenty i materialy" [International Conference of Communist and Workers Parties. Documents and Materials], Moscow, 1969, p 314.
2. V.I. Yermolayev, and A.F. Shul'golskiy, "Rabochye i kommunisticheskoye dvizheniye v Latinskoy Amerike (s Oktyabrya do nashikh dney)" [The Workers and Communist Movement in Latin America (from October to Our Era)], Moscow, 1970; Kommunisticheskiye partii Latinskoy Ameriki v bor'be za yedinstvo antiimperialisticheskikh sil" [The Communist Parties of Latin

America in the Struggle for the Unity of the Anti-imperialist Forces⁷,
Moscow, 1976; "Velikiy Oktyabr' i kommunisticheskiye partii Latinskoy
Ameriki" /Great October and the Communist Parties of Latin America⁷,
Moscow, 1978.

3. B.I. Koval', S.I. Semenov and A.F. Shul'govskiy, "Revolyutsionnyye
protsessy v Latinskoy Amerike" /Revolutionary Processes in Latin America⁷,
Moscow, 1974 (chapters 3 and 4); "Proletariat Latinskoy Ameriki" /The
Proletariat of Latin America⁷, Moscow, 1969 (chapter 6); "Sel'skiye
trudyashchiyesya Latinskoy Ameriki" /The Rural Workers of Latin America⁷,
Moscow, 1972 (chapter 9); "Sredniye gorodskiyе sloi Latinskoy Ameriki"
/The Middle Urban Strata of Latin America⁷, Moscow, 1974 (chapter 1, para-
graph 3; B.I. Koval', "Svet Oktyabrya nad Latinskoy Amerikoy" /The
Light of October over Latin America⁷, Moscow, 1977 (chapter 5); B. I. Koval',
"Rabocheye dvizheniye v Latinskoy Amerike" /The Workers Movement in
Latin America⁷, Moscow, 1979.

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BOOK DESCRIBES U.S. POLICY ON TECHNOLOGY TRANSFERS

Moscow OБSHCHESTVENNYYE NAUKI V SSSR, SERIYA 1: PROBLEMY NAUCHNOGO KOMMUNIZMA (REFERATIVNYY ZHURNAL) in Russian No 2, Mar-Apr 83 pp 35-41

[Review by Ye. Ya. Dodin of book "Amerikanskiy neokolonializm i peredacha technologii" [American Neocolonialism and Technology Transfers] by R. I. Zimenkov, USSR Academy of Sciences, Institute for The United States and Canada, Nauka Press, Moscow, 1982, 223 pages]

[Text] R. I. Zimenkov's monograph analyzes the machinery and basic directions of the provision of scientific and technical aid to developing countries under the programs of the United States Government, as well as of commercial technology transfers to young countries by American multinational corporations. New aspects of United States policy toward technology transfers to the liberated countries that appeared in the late 1970s and early 1980s are pointed out, and the struggle of independent countries for normalization of technology transfer practices is described.

The growing desire of the developing countries for economic independence is, as pointed out by the author, expressed in the domestic life of many of these countries and in the shift of the center of gravity in development to the state sector, the elimination of feudal land ownership, the nationalization of foreign enterprises, the tightening of control over the utilization of domestic natural resources and the training of native cadres of experts, while in foreign policy it is reflected in the search for forms of effective participation in the international division of labor, for which a precondition should be the restructuring of international economic relations on the principles of equality. These efforts develop, on the one hand, against the background of an accelerated process of the internationalization of world economics and, on the other, under the conditions of opposition by the capitalist countries and multinational corporations.

The United States, like other developed capitalist countries, strives to take control over the process of the restructuring of international economic relations, and to this end it is modifying its policies, adapting them to the realities of the 1980s, to the present stage of the liberation struggle of the developing countries. These modifications consist chiefly in pursuing measures that would contribute to the formation of dependent capital in the liberated states and their integration with the world capitalist economy on the basis of a neocolonialist division of labor.

To accomplish these goals, the United States not only practices the traditional methods of economic influencing (exports of private and state capital, unequal trade) but also broadly employs the American achievements of modern science and technology, pursuing a policy of a distinctive technological neocolonialism.

The present-day growth of the scientific and technological potential in the United States and other developed capitalist countries results in intensifying the dependence of young sovereign countries on imperialism and widening the gap in science and technology between the imperialist centers and the economic periphery of the capitalist system--a gap that is broad enough even without this.

The United States, for example, accounts for some 50 percent of all R&D expenditures of the entire capitalist world, whereas the developing countries taken together account for only 4 percent. In 1976 United States expenditures on R&D totaled US\$33.8 billion or US\$181 per capita, whereas like expenditures of 114 developing countries totaled about US\$2 billion, or about US\$1.00 per capita. Moreover, the insignificant R&D potential of the developing countries is concentrated in only six of them: in 1978 India, Argentina, Brazil, Egypt, South Korea and Mexico accounted for 60 percent of the corresponding outlays. As for most liberated countries, they are creating their own R&D potential from the ground up. On the whole, the gap in R&D expenditures between the United States and the developing countries amounts to 20:1 or in per capita terms to roughly 181:1. According to R. I. Zimenkov, scientific and technical aid is definitely attractive to these countries, because its official purposes are: training of domestic cadres, promotion of industrialization and the development of agriculture, the transfer of various scientific and technological knowhow and the acceleration of cultural development. Scientific and technical aid is, as a rule, provided on easy terms, which also assures its favorable reception even in countries whose governments are on the whole disposed critically toward the attempts of the United States. Under the present complex circumstances, the attempts of the United States regarding technology transfers to the developing countries acquire the significance of a major strategic direction of neocolonialist penetration in the interest of strengthening American influence on the socio-economic development of these countries.

The book consists of three chapters, with the first devoted to a description of the administrative apparatus, scientific and technical aid and its legal aspects, volume, geographical distribution, subsector structure and forms, and also the scientific and technical aid provided through international organizations.

The central place in the machinery of state aid is occupied by the Agency for International Development (AID), an autonomous agency within the American Department of State. The head of the AID--the administrator--has the status and rank of Undersecretary of State and is directly responsible to the President and the Secretary of State. In January 1979 problems of scientific and technical aid at the AID were handled by three departments responsible for the implementation of specific programs, plus three regional departments organized by geographical attribute.

AID missions are as a rule located in the capitals of the countries which the United States provides with aid. In some countries AID missions operate in several different cities and their staff is not infrequently larger than embassy staff. In addition to the AID, problems of scientific and technical aid also are handled by certain other cabinet departments and agencies (on basis of agreements with the AID or independently), especially the Department of Agriculture (in 1977 it had provided scientific and technical aid to developing countries on the basis of 129 agreements), the Department of Commerce (through its National Bureau of Standards and National Technical Information Service), the Department of Energy, the National Science Foundation (NSF), the state corporation "Inter-American

Foundation," the Department of Health and Human Services, the Treasury Department, the Department of the Interior, and the Department of Education as well as by the Environmental Protection Agency, the "Peace Corps" (as of 1971, part of the new government organization "Action"), and others. In addition, the AID utilizes private companies, scientific organizations, foundations, and various missionary societies, including the National Academy of Sciences, the National Academy of Engineering, the Ford Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, the International Corps for Administrative Assistance [transliterated] and many universities and other educational and research centers (which moreover had during the 1949-1980 period trained more than 2 million students from the liberated countries). For the purpose of greater coordination of the policy of economic and scientific-technical aid in the developing countries and increased effectiveness of programs, the United States Congress established in 1975 the Development Coordination Committee.

The juridical basis for the provision of United States aid to the developing countries is the 1961 Bill on Aid to Foreign Countries, along with the revisions and amendments introduced in it during the subsequent years. The principal purpose of aid as specified in that bill is support for the efforts of the developing countries "to meet the basic needs of their peoples" (p 102), and the effectiveness of aid is assessed according to such criteria as growth of labor productivity on labor-intensive farms, decline in infant mortality, birth control, greater equality in distribution of incomes and reduction of unemployment (p 102). A legal basis was also provided (in 1975) to the orientation of aid policies toward the demand for technologies suitable for the developing countries.

The procedure for providing scientific and technical aid and the rights and duties of the countries are defined in bilateral agreements concluded by the United States Government as well as in programs of "Atoms for Peace" type. Under the latter programs the United States provides 29 countries with aid in the peaceful utilization of nuclear energy.

The number of countries which do not at present have aid agreements is small. They are: Algeria, Laos, Kuwait, Gabon, the Ivory Coast Republic, the Congo, Kampuchea and certain others. At the same time, certain developing countries have the necessary agreements with the United States but actually receive no aid (for example, Afghanistan, Burma, Brazil, Mexico, Colombia, Ecuador, Ethiopia). In this case the refusal to provide aid happens either because young independent countries which reach a certain stage of economic development are capable of acquiring scientific and technical knowhow on commercial principles, or owing to political considerations (this applies to countries which chose the noncapitalist path of development).

The total subsidies for scientific and technical aid provided during 1949-1980 amounted to US\$6.128 billion. Of this total, 40 percent was provided for Asian countries, 23 percent for Latin America and 19 percent for Africa. The remaining 18 percent is linked to general programs. The scale of the aid granted to a particular country depends on its role and place in the foreign policy of the United States. Thus, in 1978, 70 percent of the AID's allocations was given to 56 countries, of which Egypt, Israel, Zambia, Indonesia and the Philippines received aid amounting to at least US\$1 million each [as published].

The largest item in outlays by the United States, linked to the production sphere of the economies of the developing countries, is agriculture (during 1960-1980

the related expenditures by the AID totaled US\$1.453 billion). By the same token, the United States is attempting to direct the solution of the agrarian problem along the capitalist path. A total of US\$217.3 million was allocated for the processing and extractive industries of the young countries. This aid was in particular linked to strengthening the position of small and medium enterprises as a socio-economic pillar of imperialism.

As regards the development of the social infrastructure of the developing countries, Washington pays special attention to education, considering this domain of "the training of human resources" to be crucial in the plane of political and ideological contacts with "the Third World." There is a similar orientation of programs for promoting R&D work, public health, birth control, etc.

Considerable attention is paid to the economic support and ideological indoctrination of the machinery of state (in financial terms, US\$302 million during the 1960-1980 period), in particular under the "Protection of Public Order" (police forces) program.

The forms of aid include the dispatching of American experts, the training of personnel from the developing countries, deliveries of equipment, technology and literature, etc.

The concrete forms of aid given through international organizations are extremely varied, with the nature of United States participation in these organizations being chiefly reflected in the size of the American financial contribution (through the United Nations and its specialized agencies the United States allocated US\$2.9 billion during 1949-1980) and the degree of American influence (particularly in such organizations as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the IMF).

Chapter 2 deals with the machinery and principal forms of commercial technology transfers by American corporations. This concerns direct investments enabling the multinationals to occupy commanding heights in the key industries of young countries, the establishment of joint stock companies, special bilateral agreements, technology transfers via foreign trade, exports of engineering and managerial knowhow, and sales of franchise rights. Dwelling on the problem of "corresponding" technology, the author raises the question of whether its utilization by the developing countries is objectively necessary at the present stage of their development or whether it is a deliberate machination by ideologues of imperialism who attempt to perpetuate the technical backwardness of the developing countries? In his opinion, it "cannot be denied" that "'corresponding or suitable' technology is a factor in the growth of productive forces of the developing countries" (p 151).

Chapter 3 sheds light on the struggle of the developing countries to normalize the practice of technology transfers and the corresponding trends in United States policies. The aim of the abovementioned struggle is to control the activities of multinational corporations and achieve technological independence. But while in the 1960s this struggle was chiefly waged at the national level, the policy of united action at regional and global levels now acquires increasing importance. In 1976 the 6th Session of the UNCTAD considered the draft of a Code of Behavior concerning technology transfers, which is still being negotiated. Unfortunately, as the author points out, along with just and necessary proposals, the developing countries sometimes make exorbitant demands, striving to present that Code as a document created solely in their own interests. The position of

the United States, on the other hand, stems from the endeavor, common to developed capitalist countries, to avoid any substantial concessions disadvantageous to the multinational corporations.

Since then the United States has increasingly been making allowance in its policies for the growing economic separation of the developing world and the nonuniformity of American interests in various parts of that world. American statesmen distinguish between two categories of developing countries: the most developed, with an annual GNP growth rate of more than 4.1 percent and with relatively developed industrial potential and export sector of industry (with the combined population of that "international middle class," as it is termed by American experts, amounting to 650 million), and the less developed, with a per capita income of less than US\$550 and a GNP growth rate of 1.9 percent per year (combined population of more than 2 billion). It is with this group of countries that the United States strives to substruct its technology-transfer relations on a governmental basis. The largest funds are granted to the countries in this group that currently have limited possibilities for expanding trade and economic ties with the United States owing to their deep economic backwardness or financial problems but which in the long run are potential major trade partners.

Thus, the United States views the science and technology gap as a way of utilizing the achievements of science and technology in a manner most conducive to preserving the dependence of the developing countries.

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OFFICIALS PREVIEW JUNE 1983 UNCTAD SESSION

Issues To Be Discussed

Moscow FOREIGN TRADE in English No 4, Apr 82 pp 15-20

[Article by Alexei Manzhulo]

[Text]

The efforts of the socialist and developing countries to restructure international economic relations on a just and democratic basis led to the convocation in 1964 of a UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD). On the basis of the resolution worked out by the conference and then approved by the UN General Assembly (Resolution 1995/XIX), the UNCTAD was instituted as an organ of the General Assembly.

The UNCTAD has as its basic functions the promotion of trade between countries at different levels of economic development, between the developing nations, and also between countries with different socio-economic systems; establishment of principles and policies concerning international trade and related problems of economic development; elaboration of recommendations and adoption of measures for implementing the said principles and policies.

Since its formation the UNCTAD has made definite progress in promoting international trade. One of its major achievements is the adoption in 1964 of the principles governing international trade relations and trade policy conducive to development, embodying progressive concepts of international trade and economic cooperation of today. The 2nd

UNCTAD session in 1968 was marked by the adoption of a decision to introduce a general system of preferences favouring the developing countries. This was of certain importance in speeding up the diversification of their economies and exports. The 3rd UNCTAD session held in 1972 made a start in elaborating the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, which was adopted at the 29th UN General Assembly in 1974.

The participants in the 4th UNCTAD session in 1976 concentrated on questions that would normalize world trade in commodities. The session approved an integrated programme for commodities, thus starting a series of specific multilateral talks, for working out, in particular, international commodity agreements covering a wide range of raw materials, as well as an agreement to set up a common fund for commodities.

The 5th UNCTAD Session in 1979 passed decisions on a whole complex of international trade and economic problems, including protectionism, shipping, multilateral commercial negotiations within the GATT framework, transfer of technology.

Positive results of the UNCTAD's activities are considered in the Soviet Union as a sound contribution to restructuring international trade and economic relations in the required direction. Special emphasis is laid on the necessity to deepen the process of normalization of international economic relations, making this process irreversible.

From the very first years of UNCTAD's existence the Soviet Union has been taking an active part in the work of this organization. Soviet representatives immediately participated in the elaboration of all its basic documents and recommendations, including the ones referred to above.

The Soviet Union is an active participant in resolving the problems of trade in commodities, insisting on reshaping the world commodities market so as to ensure the developing states' full sovereignty over their own natural resources and improve their position on the world's commodity markets.

In view of the great importance of monetary problems for developing international trade, the USSR is consistently supporting the idea that the

UNCTAD, as a most universal international organization, should also devote due attention to this aspect of international economic relations.

The Soviet Union has contributed to the elaboration in the UNCTAD of such an important document as the set of multilaterally agreed just principles and rules to supervise restrictive business practices (which was then approved by the UN General Assembly in 1980), whose provisions are aimed, in particular, at eliminating the restrictive business practices of transnational corporations having an adverse effect on international trade.

Soviet representatives are also active in devising the **Code of Conduct for Transfer of Technology**; they have repeatedly expressed favour for the speediest completion of this work.

The USSR has made a palpable contribution to the discussion of questions of shipping within the UNCTAD. The Soviet side in conjunction with the other socialist countries has sponsored the struggle against the practice of the "open" registration of vessels with its negative effects on the development of merchant fleets in the developing countries and international seaborne trade as a whole; the international monopolies resort to this practice with a view to manipulating charges and freight. The Soviet Union actively helped in the elaboration of the Convention on the Code of Conduct for Liner Conferences and is now its fullfledged participant.

In its trade and economic relations with the developing world the USSR has always devoted special attention to the least developed countries and treats their problems with profound understanding. This was convincingly demonstrated at the UN conference on the least developed countries, held in 1981 under the aegis of the UNCTAD, which had worked out an assistance programme for this group of countries, the poorest in the world. The Soviet delegation passed information to the conference on the principal results of trade, economic, scientific and technical cooperation between the USSR and the least developed countries and on further trends of these relations. The USSR document circulated at

the conference (A/CONF. 104/17) defined the specific measures the Soviet Union would take to promote and improve its economic and trade cooperation with this group of countries.

On the whole, the USSR's trade and economic cooperation with the developing nations is progressing. Evidence on this point is seen in the implementation of the broad action programme in this field of which N.S. Patolichев, USSR Foreign Trade Minister, the leader of the Soviet delegation, spoke at the 4th UNCTAD session in May 1976.

Facts show that practically all the provisions of this programme are being put into effect. The number of long-term trade agreements and agreements on trade turnover and economic and technical cooperation with the developing countries has increased; further progress has been made in the practice of signing intergovernmental agreements and protocols on the provision of Soviet equipment and machinery and technical assistance under favourable terms; there is an increase in the number of long-term agreements on the shipment of certain commodities. New long-term programmes have been signed with the developing nations on cooperation in concrete areas of trade, industry, science and technology. Measures are being taken to improve the mechanism of cooperation by way of extending the functions of bilateral intergovernmental commissions, whose number is now nearing 20.

The Soviet Union continues assisting developing countries interested in working their natural resources on terms ensuring their full sovereignty and respect for their legitimate rights. New agreements have been signed with a number of developing states on industrial cooperation, under which the Soviet Union will purchase an agreed part of the output from the Soviet-assisted enterprises. There are now 30 compensation agreements with the developing countries. Progress has also been achieved in such new forms of cooperation with them as agreements on "turn-key" terms and industrial cooperation. The other provisions of the Soviet action programme are likewise being carried out with success.

Trade and economic relations between the USSR and the developing nations are expanding very rapidly. This long and stable tendency was observed

throughout the 1970s. Trade between the USSR and the developing countries more than quadrupled over the decade. The number of trading partners there, with whom the Soviet Union is maintaining stable contacts, has increased up to a hundred. In the 1980s, too, the USSR's trade with these countries continues its expansion, and that despite the crisis phenomena in the world capitalist economy.

Concrete data on the various aspects of trade and economic cooperation between the USSR and the developing nations, repeatedly cited by Soviet representatives at the meetings of various UN agencies, for instance, at the second regular session of the UN Economic and Social Council in 1982, are convincing evidence of the Soviet Union's desire and readiness to extend its economic cooperation with this group of countries in every possible way.

In its relations with the industrial capitalist countries the USSR is pursuing a policy of maintaining stable trade and economic ties. This, we believe, meets the interests not only of both sides but of all participants in world trade. The Soviet Union's consistent policy aimed at promoting open and honest cooperation with all countries which have a reciprocal desire helps expand our trade with the industrial capitalist countries. This trade in 1981 was over 12 per cent up on the figure for 1980. It should be noted, however, that the policy of sanctions, embargoes and artificial obstacles to trade has seriously complicated trade and economic relations between the USSR and the USA and prevented the use of appreciable potentialities.

In the Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981-1985 and for the Period Ending in 1990, which were adopted by the 26th CPSU Congress in 1981, provision is made for the further expansion of all forms of economic, scientific and technical cooperation between the USSR and other countries. The Soviet Union will be taking an active part in handling international problems concerning raw materials, foodstuffs, fuel and energy, and in perfecting further international economic relations on a just and equal basis. The decisions of the November 1982 CC CPSU Plenary Meeting and the speech of Yu.V. Andropov, the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee,

at the Plenum confirmed the continuity of Soviet foreign policy as defined by the 24th, 25th and 26th Congresses of the CPSU.

The Soviet Union will take part in the 6th UNCTAD Session to be held in Belgrade (Yugoslavia) in June this year, for the session can and should help towards the normalization of international trade and economic relations and overcome the serious difficulties that have arisen in this field.

Along with the discussion of the trade and economic situation in the world (including the trade and economic aspects of disarmament) the session will consider the basic problems of international trade such as questions of trade policy, trade relations between countries with different socio-economic systems, monetary and financial problems, problems of trade in commodities, as well as a wide range of other questions within the UNCTAD's competence, namely, shipping, transfer of technology, economic cooperation between developing countries, problems of the least developed and land locked countries, questions of assistance to the national liberation movements.

The 6th UNCTAD Session is being prepared in an international situation, which has become tense through the fault of the USA and its NATO allies and the continuing crisis and stagnation of the capitalist economy. The session will take place during a time when a serious deterioration of world trade has occurred due to the policy of protectionism and other international trade restrictions, being pursued by the USA and some other Western powers. As pointed out in the Soviet delegation's memorandum circulated last year at the 25th session of the Trade and Development Board (document TD/B/924), the ever wider application of these restrictive measures, which affect the international exchange of goods and services, is more and more explained by purely political motives. Such extra-restrictions for non-economic reasons cannot be justified in the practice of international commercial law and they contradict the basic principles of the system of international trade.

No palpable progress has of late been observed in restructuring international economic relations

because of the stand taken in this respect by several industrial capitalist countries. For several years now they have been obstructing the beginning of "global negotiations" in the United Nations; the results of the GATT session held in November 1982 at the ministerial level demonstrate their highly limited nature. No tangible progress has been made either in the talks on international trade and development in several other sectors.

As for the socialist countries, in the Political Declaration of the member-countries of the Warsaw Treaty Organization (Prague, January 1983) they reaffirmed their position in favour of restructuring international economic relations on a just and democratic basis, establishing a new international economic order and ensuring the full sovereignty of the developing countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and Oceania over their natural resources. The socialist countries favour the speediest opening of global negotiations on major economic problems in accordance with the relevant UN decisions, and insist on enhancing the role of the United Nations in international affairs as an important forum for pooling the efforts of states in solving vital world problems.

The coming UNCTAD Session should in our opinion become an important international event which will provide ample opportunity for discussing several basic problems as concerns trade and economic cooperation between states.

The draft agenda for the session includes a group of *trade policy questions*, among which problems of protectionism and principles of international trade are central. Today these questions have a clearly pronounced political character and are regarded as the major item on the agenda of the 6th UNCTAD Session. Solution of these questions is hampered by serious differences in the assessment of the current processes in this area and in the approach to the elaboration of concrete proposals for their settlement not only between the industrial capitalist countries and the developing nations but also within these groups of states.

Over the period since the 5th UNCTAD Session, *protectionist tendencies* in most industrial capitalist

countries have markedly increased and are seen in the ever wider regular application of trade restrictions as a result of which new protectionism became a reality in the early 1980s. At present, the trade policy practised by several capitalist countries is becoming an increasing obstacle to normal trade and economic relations between states, adversely affecting their mutual trade, and engendering uncertainty about the prospects of establishing long-term stable trade and economic relations and of developing the world economy as a whole.

The new elements observed of late in the trade policy of the industrial capitalist countries are intended to enhance and make their protectionist measures more complex. This policy is characterized by its growing selectivity, discriminatory character and orientation against the developing nations, especially the socialist states. Ever wider use is being made of "grey" protectionism. Juridical principles are being gradually devised to justify discriminatory restrictions in trade, and attempts are being made to legalize them on a multilateral basis. Economic and political pressure on the exporting countries is being increased to make them restrict their exports, and whole systems of "voluntary" export limitations are created for this purpose. These and other protectionist measures on the part of the industrial capitalist countries are responsible for serious disproportions in all flows of international trade and tend to reduce its volumes.

The policy of protectionist measures expansion has negative consequences and first and foremost for the countries pursuing this policy. Loss of mutual confidence in international trade, vague possibilities for establishing long-time stable trade and economic ties, restricted access for competitive import goods to internal markets, support for inefficient national economic sectors—all this is causing growing political and material damage to the industrial capitalist countries themselves, especially over the long-term perspective, since this policy in the final count leads to these countries' economic stagnation and hinders their rational participation in the international division of labour and in structural reshaping of world economy.

In these conditions it seems natural that the main efforts of the participants in the UNCTAD have to be concentrated on re-establishing confidence in international economic relations, on normalizing the trade and political situation and seeing to it that the rules and principles firmly established in international trade be observed by all countries. It is necessary that economic relations between countries be based on strict equality, respect for national sovereignty and non-interference in the domestic affairs of other states; they should be based on principles of mutual advantage and observance of obligations assumed under a contract. The most-favoured-nation treatment should continue to be the basis of the international trade system.

The UNCTAD member-countries will have to make resolute efforts so that the trade policy and trade policy measures correspond to the established principles and rules of trade (including GATT rules) and to standards of international law. Steps are needed to avoid and discontinue discriminatory and other protectionist measures restricting or holding back international trade.

It seems that there is a definite interconnection between growing protectionism and the process of *restructuring the world economy*; the problems of this restructuring are also to be discussed at the 6th UNCTAD session. The question of changing the structure of the world economy has ripened, thus attesting to the fact that the distribution of productive forces and the system of international division of labour as they exist within the capitalist mode of production are now in conflict with the present stage of the development of the world productive forces, they no longer correspond to the present socio-political situation in the world, and because of this require improvement.

Transnational corporations are the main culprits spreading protectionism and hindering reconstruction of the world economy. To protect the interests of TNCs, many Western governments introduce new trade restrictions now often seen in national legislation.

It is clear that a real progress in restructuring the world economy is inconceivable while the number of

protectionist measures are being increased, especially those of a discriminatory nature. It is unthinkable that the protectionist policy will disappear by itself in the course of structural transformations. As for structural changes in the developing countries, they should be aimed at satisfying the internal requirements of their economic development, be all embracing, and consistently help overcome their economic and technical backwardness, increase employment and improve the living standard of the working people; they should also be in line with the principles of justice and equality.

Reconsideration of the norms, principles and rules of international trade relations is an important political and economic problem, which has been raised by the developing nations in recent years in view of the definite imperfection of the present legal and organizational infrastructure of international capitalist trade.

The idea of the developing countries' proposals lies in: (a) their desire to hold back the growth of trade barriers on the part of the industrial capitalist countries by introducing into the practice of economic relations a *status quo* which prohibits the introduction of new restrictions; (b) granting the developing countries a differentiated, i.e., special, more favourable treatment than the one existing in trade between the highly developed countries; (c) recognizing the developing countries' right to use protective measures in the interest of their economies; (d) persuading GATT to include in its text the above-mentioned provisions and enhance the role of the developing nations within the GATT system.

All these questions, it seems, should be considered in the context of the overall problems of principles, rules and norms of international trade.

In international trade policy of today we are witnessing more and more cases eroding those norms, principles and rules which underlie the international trade system. This, however, in itself, is no evidence, that the generally recognized principles of international trade have become obsolete and that they should be replaced. The main point here is that many of these basic principles are not being observed in practice. More than that, they are often violated,

and attempts are made to legalize their violation and reduce the principles themselves to exceptions. This initiative comes from some Western powers.

Topical in this connection is not so much the question of reform of the norms, principles and rules of international trade as of their fulfilment by all countries. The UNCTAD's efforts could be concentrated on evaluating how the established principles and rules are being observed by all states, on identifying the actual difficulties, processes and causes hindering the normal development of international trade with due regard for the interests of all nations, those of the developing states particularly.

Of special importance is *the question of trade between countries with different socio-economic systems*. This question quite justifiably is still on the agenda of the 6th UNCTAD Session.

The Soviet Union is pursuing a consistent policy aimed at ever more active participation of all countries in international trade and the international division of labour. It has always believed and continues to believe that all trade flows are in one way or another interconnected: violations in some of them will inevitably tell on the state of affairs in others. That is why, as the universal nature of the UNCTAD provides, this organization must consider all international trade flows, including those between the socialist and developing nations and between the socialist and industrial capitalist countries (East-West trade).

Obviously, the policy being followed by certain circles in some Western countries has as its aim the disruption of trade and economic cooperation with the socialist countries. This policy has of late been registered in their arbitrary non-constructive line of behaviour in the UNCTAD with a view to ending the discussion of East-West trade problems by this Organization. The advocates of this obstructionist policy have not, nor can they advance any serious arguments to justify their stand. The only "argument" they have is their unwillingness to consider questions of East-West trade in the UNCTAD.

Such an approach cannot but be regarded as a direct attempt to revise the mandate of this Organization in general, and above all its position vis-à-vis

the IMF, the IBRD and the GATT, or, to be more exact, weaken UNCTAD's role and place in the system of international economic organizations. No one has disaffirmed the mandate or decisions of the UNCTAD as concerns the interconnected consideration by this Organization of the basic trade flows between countries with different socio-economic systems, they are still in force. The Resolution of the UN General Assembly 36/145 and the Resolution of the Trade and Development Board 243/XXIII have clearly reaffirmed the UNCTAD's mandate and outlined its tasks in this area of international economic relations. These resolutions and their fulfilment are in the interest of the overwhelming majority of its members.

During the period since the 5th UNCTAD Session the Trade and Development Board has done some work to bring closer together the positions of the various groups of countries for elaborating a comprehensive resolution on the questions of trade relations between countries with different socio-economic systems. The 6th UNCTAD session can and should complete this work; the USSR is prepared to make a further contribution to the achievement of this aim. During the negotiations the Soviet side has already made a series of steps to meet the wishes of its partners in the talks, taking into account their suggestions and proposals to the maximum possible extent. The Soviet Union is confident that if its partners do the same the UNCTAD will be able to fulfil its mandate in this field with success.

The participants in the 6th UNCTAD Session cannot by-pass the problem of disarmament. The inclusion of questions concerning *trade and economic aspects of disarmament* in the agenda for the UNCTAD on the basis of the Resolution 44/III is in accordance with the wishes of most of its member-countries for disarmament, is closely linked with the development of economic cooperation and international trade, i.e., the questions within the UNCTAD's competence. There is a steady increase in the number of countries which realize that any concerted international measures, including those agreed in the UNCTAD, to restructure international economic relations can actually be implemented only in the atmosphere of further consolidation of peace

and security, curbing the armaments drive, military spending reduction, atmosphere conducive to growing confidence in relations between countries and relaxation of world tension.

Today, more than ever, the prospects of world economic development and international economic cooperation and trade depend on the progress made in achieving the main objective of the UN Charter: to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war. The socialist countries are doing their utmost to protect world peace and security, curb the arms race, take really effective disarmament measures.

The armaments drive not only harbours the danger of nuclear catastrophe and threatens the very existence of mankind, it is also a useless and unproductive waste of financial and manpower resources which could be used for peaceful purposes. It exerts a negative influence on mutually advantageous trade and economic ties between countries, is in fact a major obstacle to them, thus preventing states from using to the full the benefits given by the international division of labour.

Implementation of measures for ending the arms race, achieving disarmament and switching appreciable resources from the sphere of military production over to creative purposes would not only help strengthen world peace and security but would also markedly speed the socio-economic development of all countries, the developing nations included, and would allow part of the resources now being spent on armaments manufacture to be used for assisting the developing states.

Of great importance for UNCTAD's further activity in the field of trade and economic aspects of disarmament are the conclusions of the second special session of the UN General Assembly on disarmament, which point, in particular, to the organic interconnection between armament spending and socio-economic development, including that of the developing countries. In the light of these conclusions the UNCTAD has to pay continuous and due attention to the trade and economic aspects of disarmament, while its Trade and Development Board should continue to regularly and thoroughly discuss this important question.

The 6th UNCTAD Session will consider *the question of UNCTAD's assistance to the national liberation movements*, recognized by regional economic organizations. The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, together with the developing nations, actively support the activity of the UNCTAD in this area.

The principled stand of the socialist countries on this question is in their constant support of the peoples' struggle for their national and social emancipation and their willingness to strengthen the unity of world socialism and the national liberation movement. The UNCTAD could greatly facilitate the struggle of the peoples of Palestine, Namibia and South Africa for their freedom and independence by more active work on the fulfilment of relevant resolutions on these questions, for this would, in particular, help attain the aims advanced by the UN General Assembly ensuring complete fulfilment of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to the Colonial Countries and Peoples within the shortest possible time.

The coming session of the UNCTAD will consider so-called "institutional questions", i.e., *questions of reorganization and improvement of the UNCTAD's activity*. The Resolution 114/V/ on institutional questions adopted by its fifth session and then the Resolution 231/XXII/ on the rationalization of the UNCTAD's standing mechanism adopted by the 22nd session of the Trade and Development Board have provided a sound basis for raising the efficiency of this Organization.

In a situation in which, as a result of the existing complications in international economic relations, the question of opening "global negotiations" in the UN still remains unsolved, and the fact that the GATT and IMF have also made no substantial progress over the past few years, the activity of the UNCTAD and, in particular, within its terms of reference acquire special importance. As a universal international trade agency the UNCTAD should, in accordance with Resolution 1995/XIX/ of the UN General Assembly, consider the entire complex of trade and economic problems of interest to all its

members, the socialist countries included, and coordinate, within its competence, the activities of other organizations working in specific fields of international trade.

Any possible reorganization of the UNCTAD should be aimed at raising its efficiency as a universal trade and economic forum.

In the existing situation, restructuring of the system of international trade and economic relations on a just and democratic basis is inseparably linked with active support for the constructive activity of the UNCTAD. The 6th Session of this Organization is called upon to become an important landmark on this path.

Commodity Trade

Moscow FOREIGN TRADE in English No 4, Apr 83 pp 21-24

[Article by Valentin Polezhayev]

[Text] Four years passed since the 5th UNCTAD Session held in May 1979 in Manila (the Philippines). In June this year representatives from more than 160 countries will arrive in Belgrade for the 6th UNCTAD session to discuss many problems of today's international trade and economic relations. Trade in commodities will no doubt hold an important place among the questions to be discussed at the session.

Since the 5th UNCTAD Session the raw material markets have been increasingly depressed due to the profound and protracted crisis of the capitalist economic system. Unemployment has assumed unprecedented proportions, inflation has become chronic, the international monetary system is in a maladjustment state. The attempts of the capitalist countries to attenuate the consequences of the crisis on a national level have resulted in the revival of protectionism on an international scale. Rivalry between the major centres of the world capitalist system has increased, bordering on a trade war now in one, then in another area of economic activity.

All this could not but affect other countries, especially the developing ones which, moreover, chiefly remain commodity suppliers.

The developing states continue to find themselves in a dependent and unequal position within the capitalist economic system, suffering therefore from its maladies more than any other countries.

At present the world capitalist raw material economy is in its weakest, if not in a crisis state. The consolidated index of prices for raw materials in real terms is at the lowest level since 1960.

There is a further decline in prices on commodities exported by the developing countries, and, hence, a resulting drop in their receipts. Their foreign debt has sharply increased, and an appreciable portion of their export receipts is used to pay it. In 1982 the deficit of their balances of payments was estimated higher than 100,000 million dollars, the record figure of 1981.

Everywhere there is a growing anxiety over the prospects of the world economy and trade, over the destiny of international economic relations and the attempts to provide normal conditions for the young nations to develop.

The continuing specialization of most developing nations in commodity exports has led to the fact that they became major food and finished product importers, which, with the return to the proportions of exchange of basic raw materials for finished articles as it existed prior to 1973, is having an especially painful effect on their desire to set up independent economies as envisaged in the developing countries' socio-economic programmes.

Decolonization in the commodity sectors of the developing states' economies has slowed down. Although being squeezed out of the sphere of raw material extraction, the monopolies still retain control over its processing, sale and transportation.

The old colonial structure continues in the commodity trade between the industrial capitalist countries and developing nations, thus undermining the latter's efforts to develop their national industries for processing their own raw materials.

These questions, however, were not given the attention needed in UNCTAD. Its efforts were chiefly concentrated on the implementation of a part of the integrated programme.

Guided by the desire to actively help find a positive solution to the most urgent problems of the world

commodity markets, the socialist countries have always been in favour of an effective settlement that suits the interests of all participants in international trade.

At the 4th UNCTAD session, for instance, they helped adopt the integrated programme for commodities as the first important attempt at a comprehensive solution of problems which also face the developing nations in the international commodity trade.

In accordance with the decision of the 26th CPSU Congress, the Soviet Union is taking an active part in settling international problems concerning commodities on the basis of justice and equality, in this way helping to restructure international economic relations.

This, however, should not be interpreted as the Soviet Union's willingness to participate in all measures, especially if they are worked out irrespective of its views and proposals. Understandably, whenever some or other measures do not accord with our socio-economic system or are even in direct conflict with it, the Soviet Union cannot take part in them.

As for the question of the USSR's participation in international commodity agreements, it will, as before, be decided in every concrete case with due regard for a just balance of the rights and obligations of the participants in agreements.

In recent years, as is known, a long series of preparatory meetings covering a wide range of commodities have been held, at which many problems have been specified and the parties' approaches to their solution basically ascertained. The Soviet Union has made an appreciable contribution to their constructive cooperation. It is through no fault of ours that the integrated programme has run across difficulties whose dimensions have turned out to be much greater than might have been expected at the time of its adoption in 1976.

Lack of progress in implementing the integrated programme has been observed for the most monopolized commodities. Of the 18 commodities referred to in the programme progress has only been achieved over this period on natural rubber and jute. These unsatisfactory results can be explained by both objective and subjective factors. Among the objective causes mention may be made of the complexity of the programme, the plurality and multifacetedness of the participants' interests and difficulty in assessing the balance of the rights and duties of parties concerned.

Inflation, the Western powers' currency instability, growing monetary troubles constitute a serious obstacle to market stabilization.

Subjective factors include the counteraction of the international monopolies and the governments of individual countries favouring "freedom" of the raw material sector of the world capitalist market.

The most significant obstacle in the way to international agreements lies in the unwillingness of the international community as a whole to support them so that their participants include the major exporters and importers who account for 95-90 per cent of the export and import of a commodity concerned. The willingness or unwillingness of countries depends on the structure of an agreement, its effectiveness, as well as on political and economic factors.

Indeed, a brief review of the international agreements now in force will show that many countries do not actively participate in them. Among the signatories to the 1977 International Sugar Agreement, for instance, one will not find the whole group of EEC members who have a great export potential (up to 5 million tons of sugar a year). The USA, a major cocoa importer, and the Ivory Coast, a major cocoa exporter, do not participate in the International Cocoa Agreement. The USA, which is also a big tin importer and has large strategic tin reserves, and Bolivia, a major tin exporter, are not signatories to the International Tin Agreement. An appreciable number of small exporters and importers from among the developing nations do not participate in such agreements. All this leaves its imprint on the effectiveness of the above-said agreements. It is not surprising, therefore, that there is a certain dissatisfaction with them and that they are losing their attractiveness for many countries.

For the Soviet Union it is important to know what market a given agreement is intended to regulate. Insofar as trade between the socialist countries is conducted on a planned, long-term and stable basis with the use of price-formation principles differing from the system applied in capitalist trade, there is no need for regulation by international agreements. It stands to reason that such trade should not be regulated and should not even be considered when calculating interest for purposes of an agreement coming into force or for distributing votes.

Exporters' and importers' commitments to purchase and sell in extreme price situations would be of great importance for the effectiveness of international agreements. It is this system that could prove most effective as far as commodity market stabilization is concerned.

In recent years a turn has been made in international agreements in favour of a mechanism of international or national special stocks. What is more, national special stocks engendered by the quota mechanism provide for financing agreements from levies on trade, which was not the case with quota agreements in the past. It well may be that this circumstance is responsible for the fact, for instance, that under the Sugar Agreement the exporting countries in an effort to fulfil their obligations as concerns special stocks, representing a theoretical reduction of quotas, continue developing sugar production, thus creating a surplus of this commodity on the market.

This accent, perhaps, was the result of the fact that simultaneously talks were in progress on an agreement to set up a common fund from which to finance all surplus commodities under the categories envisaged in this agreement. However, no common fund was established and the agreements met with no support.

The range of prices in the agreements is sometimes so wide that the market practically needs no regulation because even without such regulation prices will almost never exceed these limits or only with exceptional radical changes on the market.

Nor is the automatism of price regulation always justified in an agreement, for such an approach would mean adjusting the agreement to current market conditions.

Agreements on prices are not always economically justified; they only take into account the current situation without a profound analysis of price levels and their fluctuations over the preceding years.

As concerns an improved processing of primary products and their exports as well as marketing and distribution system including transportation of commodities exported by developing countries, little progress has been made, although this question was discussed within the re-established Committee on Commodities.

The Soviet Union supports the just demands of the developing countries regarding the need to enhance their role in operations with raw materials produced by them through an appropriate limitation of the role of international monopolies; it is willing to second the measure for speeding up the implementation of the integrated programme, including those relating to the development of national industry in the newly free states for processing raw materials.

The developing nations' efforts to change the situation in the area of commodity processing and in the marketing and distribution systems including transportation of commodities, have proved to be of little effect because of the policy being conducted by the industrial capitalist countries.

Unwilling to make any concession on these questions, the USA tried to calm the developing nations with hopes for talks within the GATT framework in November 1982 at ministerial level. These talks, however, gave them practically nothing in any field, trade in commodities included.

The basic problem facing the developing countries in this area is the impossibility for their processed goods to penetrate markets which are already dominated by a handful of large corporations, national and transnational. There is an upward tendency (or even escalation) in customs duties as the degree of the goods processing increases. As regards commodities, non-tariff barriers are widely used. Access to the resources of international financial establishments is highly limited. The restrictive practices used by transnational corporations (TNC) with respect to sales channels, including price formation, informal agreements on the division of markets, and intra-company prices, are having an adverse effect on trade in these commodities. All these factors lead to the producer countries receiving only a small proportion of the final retail price for their commodities.

Researches carried out by the UNCTAD Secretariat irrefutably prove the important and sometimes even dominant role of TNCs in the production, processing and sale of raw materials belonging to the developing countries. They also show that TNCs are responsible for the slow growth of the national potential for processing raw materials in the developing countries, for the low rates of industrialization and economic

diversification on the basis of their natural resources, and for the conditions stopping these countries from setting up their own sales and distribution systems.

As a rule, TNCs control all stages of the production and realization of commodities, beginning with their extraction, then processing and transportation and up to their sale on foreign markets, which puts the developing nations at a disadvantage as regards international trade in commodities.

With the aid of new forms of relations between TNCs and producer countries, such as agreements on participation in production and in providing services, which replace concession on the development of raw material sources, TNCs have in large measure succeeded in raising additional obstacles to the nationalization of enterprises operating in raw materials and in retaining control over the sources of raw materials in the developing world.

Today, when most developing countries have begun to apply various forms of control over the activity of foreign monopolies, the latter too are changing their tactics: they begin to cooperate with national private and state capital in the young nations, investing capital without acquiring a controlling block of shares, and make portfolio investments.

As a whole in world trade and in the commodity trade in particular there is a growing proportion of intra-corporation trade which accounts for over 50 per cent of all the international commercial transactions of the developing countries. The unilateral establishment by TNCs of transfer prices in intra-corporation trade is one of the major sources from which they derive large profits from the exploitation of raw material resources in the developing countries.

That is why, along with negotiatory functions, the UNCTAD should carry out regular work on observing the processes occurring in international trade in commodities, including the channels of TNCs' intra-firm exchange, identification and assessment of the problems arising in this area.

TNCs use every possibility to gain control over the associations of commodity producers, resist stabilization of commodity markets in raw materials, and carry out large-scale speculative operations. That is why the responsibility for the difficulties arising in the

course of implementation of the integrated programme in large measure lies with TNCs, and the successful solution of the problem for normalizing commodity markets largely depends on how effectively the activity of TNCs is or will be controlled and the extent to which their penetration into the raw material sectors of the developing countries' economies is restricted.

The fact that foreign private capital has again begun to play a dominant role in the total inflow of external resources is a serious danger for the young states now steering a course towards economic independence on a national and collective basis.

The complex of solutions to commodity problems should therefore include measures to institute the developing countries' control over foreign capital, to establish norms and procedures for their governments' full and effective control over the activity of TNCs, to set up their national sales organizations in which state-owned enterprises would play a leading role, as well as measures intended to strengthen the sovereignty of the developing nations over their natural resources. The foregoing should become a major task for UNCTAD to deal with in the area of raw materials.

As for the compensation system now in use in relations between the industrial capitalist countries and the developing states, they cannot effectively help in changing the position of these states. These systems harbour the danger of perpetuating lopsided production and exports in the developing countries, since the financial regulation they provide is operative only when individual commodities retain their proportion in total exports. And also, continuous application of the existing compensation financing systems by Western powers will be increasing dependence of certain developing countries exporting commodities still more.

Relations between the Soviet Union and the developing world are growing ever broader and stronger.

“Solidarity with the states that have thrown off the colonial yoke, with the peoples fighting to uphold their independence has been and is one of the fundamental principles of Soviet foreign policy”, Yu.V. Andropov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, said at the November 1982 CC CPSU Plenary Meeting.

The Soviet Union is expanding mutually advantageous trade relations and all-round economic, scientific, technical and other ties with the developing

countries on a long-term and equal basis, giving them economic and technical assistance in building industrial enterprises, power, agricultural and other projects that will consolidate their economic and political independence. Soviet-aided projects in the developing countries when completed and in operation become these countries' sole property.

Trade problems should be discussed and resolved in the context of the task of restructuring international economic relations on a just and democratic basis.

Commodity problems are among the major questions facing UNCTAD. The processing of commodities in the developing countries, their marketing and distribution systems including transportation, together with the integrated programme, will no doubt be in the centre of attention of the 6th session of the UN Conference on Trade and Development.

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SOMALI INTERNAL PROBLEMS, LINKS TO U.S. VIEWED

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[Yu. Bochkarev article: "Somalia: Metamorphosis of the Regime"]

[Text] The winds of change in all aspects of Somali life are now blowing in the direction of Washington, UPI correspondent Charles Mitchell said some time ago. That there have been changes in that country is true enough, but it would be more correct to say, if we are to use meteorological terminology, that they have taken place under the blast of winds blowing from the United States. For it was Washington's pressure that impelled the Somali ruling quarters to embark in 1977 on the realization of their long-hatched chauvinistic design for a "Greater Somalia" and, as the initial step towards this, to invade the Ethiopian province of Ogaden with the object of seizing it. The U.S. encouraged Mogadishu to undertake this act of aggression in the belief that the young Ethiopian revolution would be crushed.

These expectations, however, did not materialize. The people of Ethiopia gave the aggressors a smashing rebuff and sent them reeling back. Somalia's defeat in this war unleashed by its government had far-reaching consequences on both the internal and the international plane. In preparation for it the Somali authorities abandoned their earlier policy of friendship and cooperation with the countries of the socialist community which had within a brief space of time yielded Somalia notable economic benefits, and jettisoned the socialist ideals which they had proclaimed to be their aims when they came into power in 1969.

Economic projects which were built with Soviet assistance and could have served as the foundation of Somalia's national industry have been abandoned.

The war had a destructive effect on the country's feeble economy. Somalia is one of the most backward countries in the world with practically the world's lowest annual per capita income.

The country's backwardness is due primarily to a number of objective reasons. In the many years of their domination the British and Italian colonialists did nothing useful in Somalia apart from establishing banana plantations. Consequently, the country does not have even a semblance of modern industry. It is extremely poor in natural resources.

Besides the objective reasons, there are also others arising from the policy of the ruling quarters, which still cling to their expansionist schemes. According to the Kenyan DAILY NATION, President Siad Barre has declared that he will continue to support secessionist elements in Ethiopia. Preparing for a new round in the war, Mogadishu, according to REUTER'S, is spending 55-80 per cent of its budget for military purposes. This is a heavier burden than the economy, the state of which foreign observers qualify as catastrophic, can bear. Speaking of the plight of the people of Mogadishu, a UPI dispatch observes: "Poverty has a firm grip. Narrow, unpaved alleys are home to beggars, children, starving families, prostitutes and an air of despair."

The setbacks in the war against Ethiopia and the economic straits have had a demoralizing effect on the population. The Western press notes that the regime has been paralyzed by a passive and thoroughly corrupt bureaucratic officialdom, the state institutions are discredited, and nothing remains of the enthusiastic popular support the country's leadership enjoyed in the early years following the revolution of 1969. Four years ago a widely ramified anti-government conspiracy was exposed. And in July 1982 seven top-ranking officials were arrested on charges of plotting a coup. Siad Barre, UPI says, "reshuffles his cabinet regularly to prevent an opposition power base building within the government."

Many military and political leaders who used to support Siad Barre have withdrawn from the Military Council and the government and some have gone abroad where they have set up a number of opposition groups. In 1981 three of these groups joined to form the Somali Democratic Salvation Front, which has embarked on guerrilla warfare in the southern districts of the country. At the end of last year the Front and the opposition Somali National Movement functioning in the north agreed to coordinate their actions with a view to overthrowing the present regime.

The opposition movement has been growing rapidly since August 1980, when Mogadishu concluded a military agreement with Washington. Under this compact the Somali military base in Berbera was placed at the disposal of the Pentagon, and the U.S. promised to extend economic and military aid to Somalia in exchange. This marked the beginning of a turn in the country's foreign policy towards collaboration with imperialism.

Government quarters contend that the military facility in Berbera is not a U.S. base and that the Americans have merely been given the right to use it when necessary. The point, is that the Americans are constantly "in need" of it and evidently will be for a long time to come. They are intensively engaged in adapting the base to meet their military needs, reconstructing landing strips and setting up refuelling stations. France-Presse reports that the U.S. has already stationed their military equipment for the deployment force. Work is also under way in the port of Berbera.

Somalia, the Paris LES ECHOS observes, has been made a components of a huge beachhead for the Rapid Deployment Force facilitating the expansion of the U.S. military presence and the servicing of its aircraft and navy ships. This is also the purpose of the agreements concluded by the United States on the use of military bases in Egypt, Sudan, Oman and Kenya. Somalia has thus been included in

an extensive U.S. military strategic system. Together with the forces of Egypt, Sudan and Oman Somali troops took part in Exercise Bright Star which the Pentagon staged in the region in early 1983.

In December the United States held another exercise on Somali territory. Admiral Robert Long, commander of the U.S. Pacific and Indian Ocean fleets, and Lieutenant-General Robert Kingstone, commander of the Rapid Deployment force, came to Mogadishu to supervise the manoeuvres which were described as a joint American-Somali naval, air and ground forces exercise, although Somalia can hardly be said to have any naval and air strength. Some light on why Somalia was visited by such high-ranking U.S. military dignitaries was shed by a UPI dispatch which referred to the Berbera base as a "U.S. naval facility offered to the United States in 1980" and stressed that it was considered one of the most important at the disposal of the Rapid Deployment Force. It is already being used as a transhipment point en route to the key U.S. Indian Ocean base on Diego Garcia Island.

But it can be used also for shipments in the opposite direction--from Diego Garcia to Somalia. Precisely this route was chosen in July last year for the delivery to the latter of a large consignment of U.S. weapons. According to REUTER, the Pentagon imposed strict restrictions on information about the types and quantity of military equipment involved. The reason for this was that both Washington and Mogadishu maintained that these weapons were intended only for defensive purposes, as if Somalia had been under a threat and its territory coveted by someone. Actually, the contrary was the case. The Somali authorities have not denied that they have territorial claims on neighboring countries. And not only on Ethiopia, either. Nairobi, for instance, is alarmed by the support Mogadishu is giving the pro-Somali bands operating on Kenyan territory. Somalia's friends, the U.S. and Egypt, the principal suppliers of weapons to the Mogadishu regime, writes the Kenyan DAILY NATION, should try to bring Siad Barre to his senses and make it plain to him that there are limits which he cannot transgress.

The arms deliveries are used as a pretext for expanding the U.S. military presence in the Horn of Africa. A group of U.S. military advisers had already arrived in Somalia and the Pentagon is planning to send in several "mobile groups" allegedly to instruct Somali troops in the handling of heavy weapons. Actually it is a matter of sending U.S. Army units to Somalia. Thus, the virtual military alliance with the U.S. imposed on Somalia enables the imperialists to use Somali territory in pursuance of Washington's interventionist policy in the Indian Ocean. The danger was highlighted by many speakers at the recent non-aligned summit in Delhi.

Last year's increase in arms deliveries to the Mogadishu regime coincided with the activation of the guerrilla operations of the Somali Democratic Salvation Front. The successes registered by the guerrillas caused concern in Washington over the fact of its Berbera base, for the leaders of the Front have proclaimed as one of their aims the ridding of the country's territory of foreign military bases. As a pretext for U.S. interference in the internal conflict, interference which is impermissible under international law, Washington and Mogadishu concocted the fable that there is no guerrilla movement in Somalia, but that the fighting there is being done by the Ethiopian regular army, which allegedly has invaded the country. Unbiased observers, however, promptly exposed the

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fallacy of this contention. The Cairo AL-AHALI, for instance, wrote that the character of the fighting and the casualty toll were indicative of guerrilla warfare, not battles fought by regular armies. The Ethiopian Government categorically refuted the accusations that its forces had intruded into Somalia. Nevertheless, further airlifts of arms to Somalia from Diego Garcia are planned.

Thus a regime that used to pursue an anti-imperialist policy has succumbed to chauvinist hysteria and winds blowing from Washington and turned its country into a bridgehead for the U.S. military. A curious metamorphosis indeed!

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U.S. ACCUSED OF DISHONESTY ON PURPOSE OF EUROMISSILE DEPLOYMENT

PM291213 Moscow NEW TIMES in English No. 16, Apr 83 pp 5-7

[Article by Yuriy Zhilin: "Two-Faced Janus"--words between slantlines in boldface in original]

[Excerpt] At present a crucial role in preparations for a thermonuclear war is allotted to the projected deployment in Europe for some 600 new U.S. missiles targeted on the Soviet Union. The objectives pursued by these plans are so patently dangerous that the most insidious political mimicry has been resorted to in order to put them across. From the very outset the aggressive design was dressed in a defensive toga. Let us recall the basic strategems employed by the two-faced Janus in this respect.

1. As is known, the decision of the Brussels session of the NATO Council held in December 1979 was described as a /"double-track decision."/ Why this designation? Primarily in order to conceal the one-track nature of the U.S. administration's decision to deploy its missiles in Europe. The U.S. plan provided for the production of these missiles and their deployment and at the same time a smokescreen for this was laid in the shape of an assurance of the readiness of the U.S. to negotiate with the Soviet Union supposedly to create conditions that would obviate the need for deployment. Meanwhile, the missile production line worked without interruption. The mechanism of talks, through the fault of the U.S. side, was set into motion after two years' delay, and when it did seem to get started, not without pressure from public opinion, moved at less than a snail's pace. One can hardly disagree with the substance of the statement by SDP deputy Bundestag floor-leader Ehmke that the talks in Geneva "have not yet really begun." The machinery of the talks lags behind the automatic production line turning out new missiles not only because of the complexity of the issue, but because it is being deliberately retarded, for the U.S. side entered the talks not to achieve any results, but for the sake of palaver. Now, as mid-1983 approaches, the one-track nature of the "double-track decision" is more obvious than ever.

2. The proposed deployment in Europe of the new U.S. missiles was described as "rearmament" of the NATO countries. The purpose of the formula was to obscure the existence of military-strategic balance in medium-range weapons in Europe. Actually, it was /a project of super-armament./ At present both

sides have roughly 1,000 carriers of such weapons each. Adding nearly 600 more such units on the Western side would be nothing but superarmament.

3. The project was also described as a plan for /"modernization"/ of medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe--the same kind of modernization as the replacement of the old Soviet missiles known in the West as SS-4 and SS-5 with new ones, the SS-20. But the U.S. and NATO decision provides for the deployment of 464 cruise missiles, which are a /qualitatively/ new weapon from the standpoint of technical characteristics. These characteristics were described in the April 4 issue of the NEW YORK TIMES. Cruise missiles, the paper says, fly at treetop height "below radar detection and would be equipped with an automatic guiding mechanism that enables them to fix on their targets. The missile is only about 20 feet long and 20 inches in diameter, but it can carry a warhead about 20 times the power of the Hiroshima bomb....Cruise missiles can be hidden in trucks or anywhere under tarpaulins and could not be detected by surveillance satellites or other national technical means, nor by any practical system of on-site inspection. Since their number and location cannot be verified, no government would enter into an agreement for their limitation or elimination. Thus, by pursuing the armament track, the allies would destroy the disarmament track and the hope of getting rid of nuclear weapons in Europe."

4. Semantics too were harnessed to the service of aggressive policy when the new U.S. missiles began to be called "Euromissiles." The only correct thing in this designation is that they will be deployed on European territory. But the fact remains that they will constitute a direct addition to the U.S. strategic potential stationed on U.S. territory. In other words, they upset the balance not on the continent, but on a global scale, not only quantitatively, but also in the qualitative respect. The term "Euromissiles" is used to create the impression that these American weapons are /means of defence/ of the West European countries and /not offensive weapons/ in the U.S. overall nuclear strategy.

5. As is known, the United States' NATO allies have repeatedly reaffirmed their /fidelity to the "double-track decision,"/ implying that they stand by both of its parts (preparations for the deployment of missiles, and talks). The fact remains, however, that the decision was taken on condition that the SALT-2 treaty be ratified and enforced. But this did not happen, which is something the devotees of the "double-track decision" prefer to forget. Further, the much-vaunted decision presupposed discussion of the problem of nuclear weapons on the European continent. The U.S. side, however, decided to give the discussion of medium-range weapons global dimensions by including in it weapons of this type sited in Asia, moreover only the Soviet weapons there. This is a direct departure from the precise meaning of the notorious "double-track decision."

Thus, what is in question is not the "fidelity" of the European NATO countries to that decision, but its revision in line with the U.S. administration's original design. "Atlantic solidarity" thus resolves into simple readiness

to submit to Washington to the detriment of the vitally important national interests of the European countries.

The duplicity of the "double-track decision," has found expression also in the different interpretations of it given by its supporters. The diverse positions may be roughly grouped as follows.

Some, primarily U.S. administration spokesmen, argued that "rearmament," in other words, the deployment of the new U.S. missiles in Europe, is not subject to discussion. Moreover, it was often insisted that the deployment of the missiles should be the preliminary condition for talks and their "successful" conduct, meaning, of course, the U.S. conception of "success."

Others proceeded from the parallel realization of the two aspects of the decision: The simultaneous production and then deployment of the U.S. missiles and the conduct of talks.

Still others, at least at the present time, hold that "success" of the talks could obviate the implementation of the first part of the decision.

Despite the different interpretations, in real-life terms a sort of dual fidelity to the "double-track decision" is sustained. The part providing for preparations to build up U.S. nuclear forces in Europe has been carried out, while the other part, relating to talks, has been used only as a diplomatic cover for such preparations and certainly not as a means of preventing another round in the arms race on the continent.

6. So that this tactic should work, a new magnitude was introduced in the political algebra of present-day international life, the /"pseudo-zero"/-- President Reagan's "zero option" envisaging the dismantling of all Soviet medium-range missiles both in Europe and in Asia, while retaining all of the medium-range nuclear weaponry the U.S. and other NATO countries have in Europe, as well as the analogous U.S. weapons stationed in other parts of the world within striking range of the Asiatic part of the territory of the U.S.S.R. True enough, this proposal captivated for a time many Europeans who were taken in by the deceptive simplicity of the proposed way out of the situation. The fact that generally speaking the missile is more frightening than an airplane with the same nuclear weapon on board also played its part, even though the two types of delivery vehicles, all their technical differences notwithstanding, are in practical terms capable of causing equal destruction.

Needless to say, this political and propaganda gimmick lost credibility in the eyes of West European public opinion after a time. Because of this, and again under pressure from the anti-war movement, the United States' NATO allies began to press on it to display most "flexibility." Hence the "new move" by the White House, formally addressed to the Soviet Union, but essentially aimed at stemming the tide of the anti-war movement and thereby meeting also the needs of the United States' West European allies.

7. This "new move" was styled the "interim variant."

Preparedness to seek compromise solutions and ability to find them are a cardinal criterion of the art of diplomacy. In our time, when public opinion expects negotiations to yield positive results and calls on both sides to display flexibility and reciprocity, these qualities manifest a sincere desire to make real headway towards the limitation and reduction of armaments, on which the solution of the cardinal problem of our time depends. Hence the verbal dressing of the U.S. President's latest initiative. Essentially, it is anything but honest diplomacy. Its substance has been exposed in clear-cut and authoritative statements by the Soviet leadership. This initiative only appears to differ from the "pseudo-zero." The "interim variant" does not open the way to peace and agreement. This was conclusively shown by Andrey Gromyko at his April 2 press conference.

It will be recalled that according to the NATO Council decision, the new U.S. missiles are to be deployed over a period of three or four years. What does the "interim variant" envisage? It provides for the /deployment to begin,/ at all costs, in 1983. This is served up as something new and "flexible." For all practical purposes the only "flexible" and "new" thing about it is that the Soviet Union should begin doing away with its medium-range missiles, and only after that would the U.S. decide how many missiles to deploy.

And this is called a "step forward"! A step toward what? Towards the beginning of the implementation of the plan for the superarmament of the U.S. and NATO on the continent. A step away from a search for a genuine basis for agreement at talks.

If it is true that words are also deeds, it will also be correct to say that high-sounding rhetoric can conceal the most unsavoury designs. The policy of militarism, preparation of war is a diabolical concoction of cynicism, hypocrisy, and falsehood. Its ideological weapons are intimidation and the lulling of vigilance. The nuclear death merchants and the manufacturers of megatons of lies belong to the same corporation.

In the face of the danger hanging over humanity, the world must clearly see the truth, must realize that to safeguard peace it is essential to put an end to the arms race, to work for disarmament, all the way to general and complete disarmament. This truth, which today has been espoused by the millions, is becoming a force capable of raising an insuperable barrier to those who are impelling mankind towards thermonuclear catastrophe.

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U.S. STAND ON LOS CONVENTION SEEN VIOLATING INTERNATIONAL LAW

PM251237 Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 20, May 83 p 27

[Igor Gorev article under the rubric "World Ocean": "Undermining the Law of the Sea Convention"]

[Text] In the past 2 years Washington's policy with regard to the World Ocean has been characterized by utter disregard of international law. Veering sharply from the course steered by his predecessors, President Reagan has launched a regular offensive against the comprehensive UN Convention on the Law of the Sea, which was adopted in 1982 after many years of negotiation, in which the United States participated, and has now been signed by 122 states.

Washington does not conceal its displeasure at the fact that the compromise provisions of the convention regarding the use of the international deep sea-bed area resources (nickel, cobalt, manganese and copper nodules) for the benefit of all mankind do not permit the rapacious activity of the U.S. and other Western corporations. It is for this reason that Washington tried to torpedo the UN Conference on the Law of the Sea and voted against the convention the conference had worked out.

Recently the U.S. administration took some new steps aimed at undermining the convention. In his Oceans Policy Statement made in March, President Reagan announced the establishment of a 200-mile U.S. economic zone.

In effect Washington wants to make use only of those convention provisions dealing with an economic zone and the freedom of shipping in different parts of the World Ocean which are of advantage to the U.S. At the same time, it refuses to sign the convention as a whole. "The United States," Ronald Reagan said, "will continue to work with other countries to develop a regime, free of unnecessary political and economic restraints, for mining deep sea-bed minerals beyond national jurisdiction." The intention is to sign a "mini-treaty" with a few Western countries.

"The United States," Ronald Reagan pointed out, "will continue to allow its firms to explore for and, when market permits, exploit these resources." In other words, U.S. policy with regard to the World Ocean will be aimed at the seizure and division by American corporations of the international sea-bed area resources, in defiance of the convention.

In order somehow to conceal the blatantly imperialist character of this policy, President Reagan resorted to legal arguments. He claimed in his Oceans Policy Statement that "deep sea-bed mining remains a lawful exercise of the freedom of the high seas open to all nations." This claim runs counter to the provisions of the convention and other international documents. Present-day international law, both common and contractual, does not regard the prospecting and exploitation of the sea-bed resources as the exercise of the freedom of the high seas. On the contrary, it contains principles and standards regulating and limiting this activity by the strict provisions laid down in conventions.

The United States' exclusive economic zone proclamation is a new attempt unilaterally to arrogate to itself the sovereign right to the living resources and the relevant jurisdiction in areas up to 200 miles wide adjoining the territory not only of the U.S. but also of Puerto Rico and the trusteeship and "overseas" territories, though these areas are part of the high seas. Ronald Reagan cited as legal substantiation the authority vested in him "as president of the U.S.A. by the constitution and laws of the U.S.A."

But this "legal" argument does not hold water, for no national laws can serve as grounds for assuming the sovereign right in areas traditionally considered part of the high seas. Such a right is granted countries only by the new UN Convention on the Law of the Sea, provided they strictly observe the convention in toto. Any country that refuses to sign and observe the convention as a whole, as the U.S. has done, for instance, forfeits the possibility of enjoying the right to a 200-mile economic zone envisaged in the convention. This is the essence of the agreements reached at the conference between all groups of states.

Instead of drawing realistic conclusions from the crushing defeat sustained by Reagan's diplomacy at the recently closed UN Conference on the Law of the Sea and taking into account the position of the vast majority of countries which have signed and support the convention, the U.S. is toughening its policy of undermining law and order in the World Ocean and is setting itself against the entire international community.

In common with many other countries the USSR opposed this imperialist policy. In its statement on 24 April the Soviet Government exposed the true character of Washington's latest actions and supported the convention.

"The action of the present U.S. administration," the Soviet Government said, "which are nothing but an attempt to confuse the issue of using the sea expanses and undermine the foundations of the mutually advantageous cooperation of countries. The USSR shares this concern and, together with other countries, emphatically rejects the policy of arbitrary rule which the U.S. would like to pursue in this field too."

The statement emphasized that, "seeking to obtain special, unwarranted privileges in the World Ocean, the U.S. is simultaneously trying to back up its illegal claims to the trusteeship island territories and the adjoining sea expanses, on which the American monopolies have long had their eye." It is in place to observe that some of the convention provisions are based on proposals moved by the U.S. itself. But it has apparently become a standard of behavior for the present U.S. administration to repudiate agreements reached earlier.

Washington should realize, the statement continues, that is policy of boycotting and undermining the new UN convention and of carrying out arbitrary measures with regard to sea-bed resources runs counter to the interests of the vast majority of countries.

At the first, March-April meeting of the preparatory commission for the International Sea-Bed Authority and the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea, the Group of 77, which consists of more than 100 developing nations, and a group of socialist countries made a statement denouncing the U.S. position. Sooner or later, Washington will have to understand that no country, the United States included, is entitled to ignore the law and order established by the convention with regard to the World Ocean and its resources.

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